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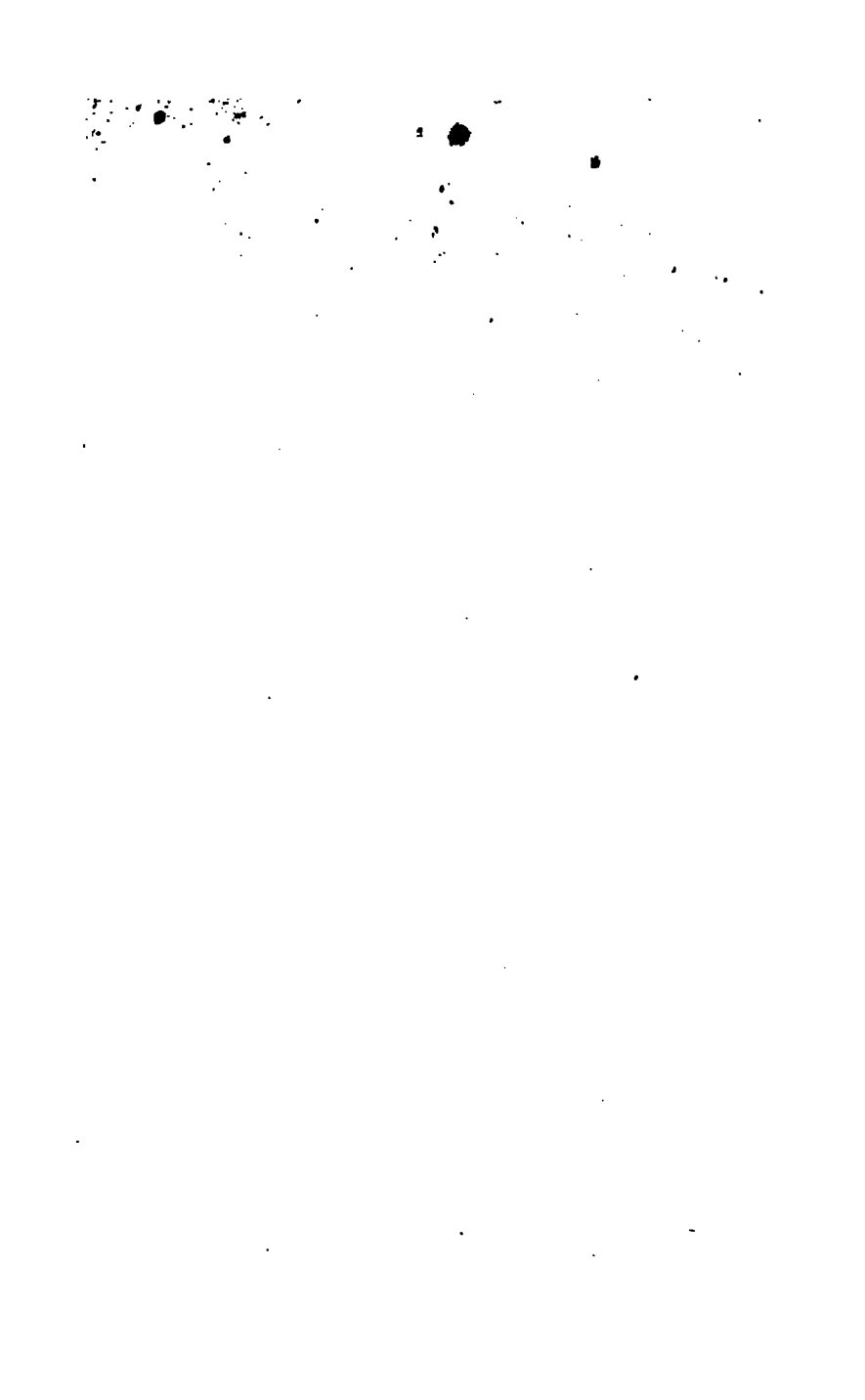
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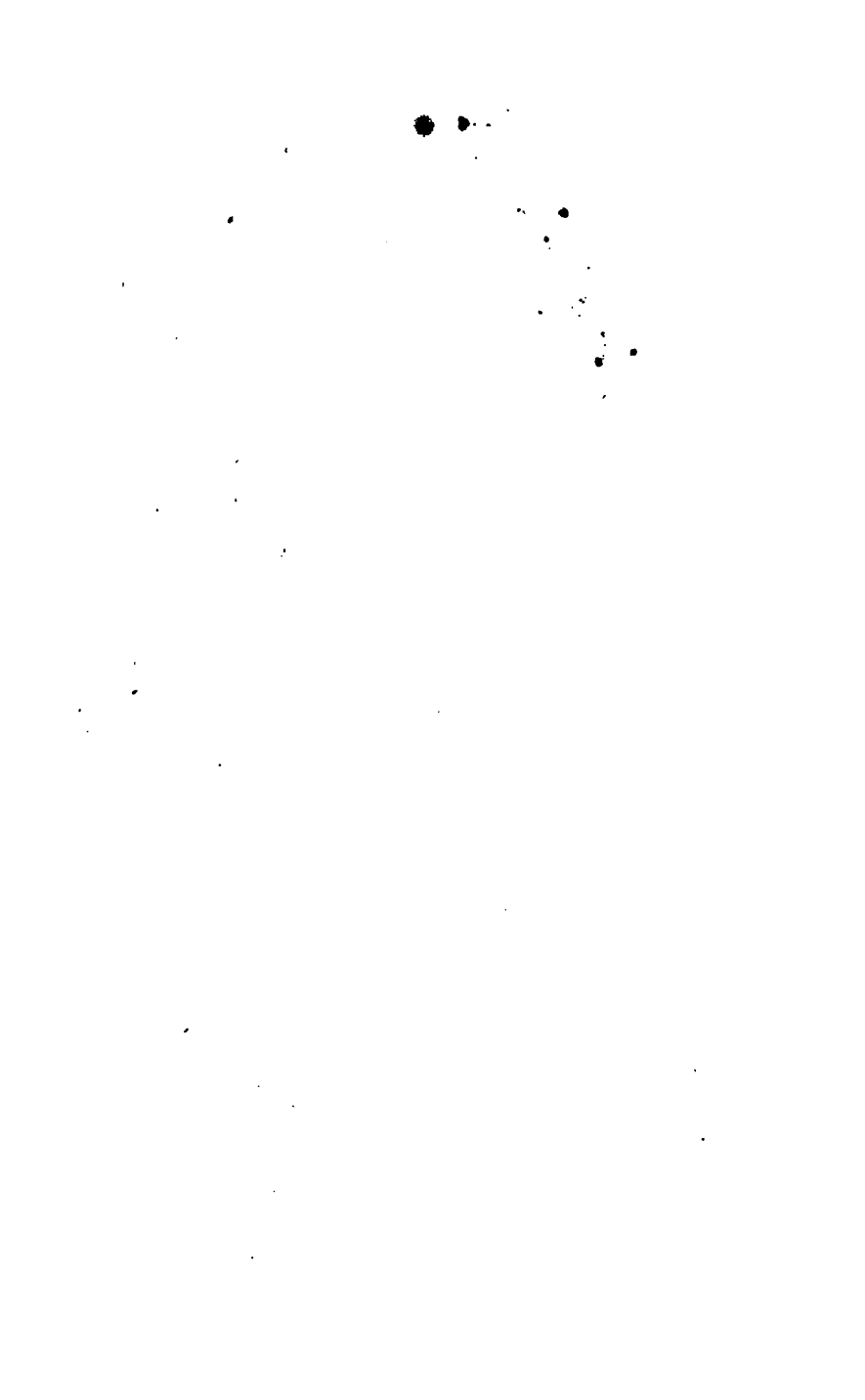




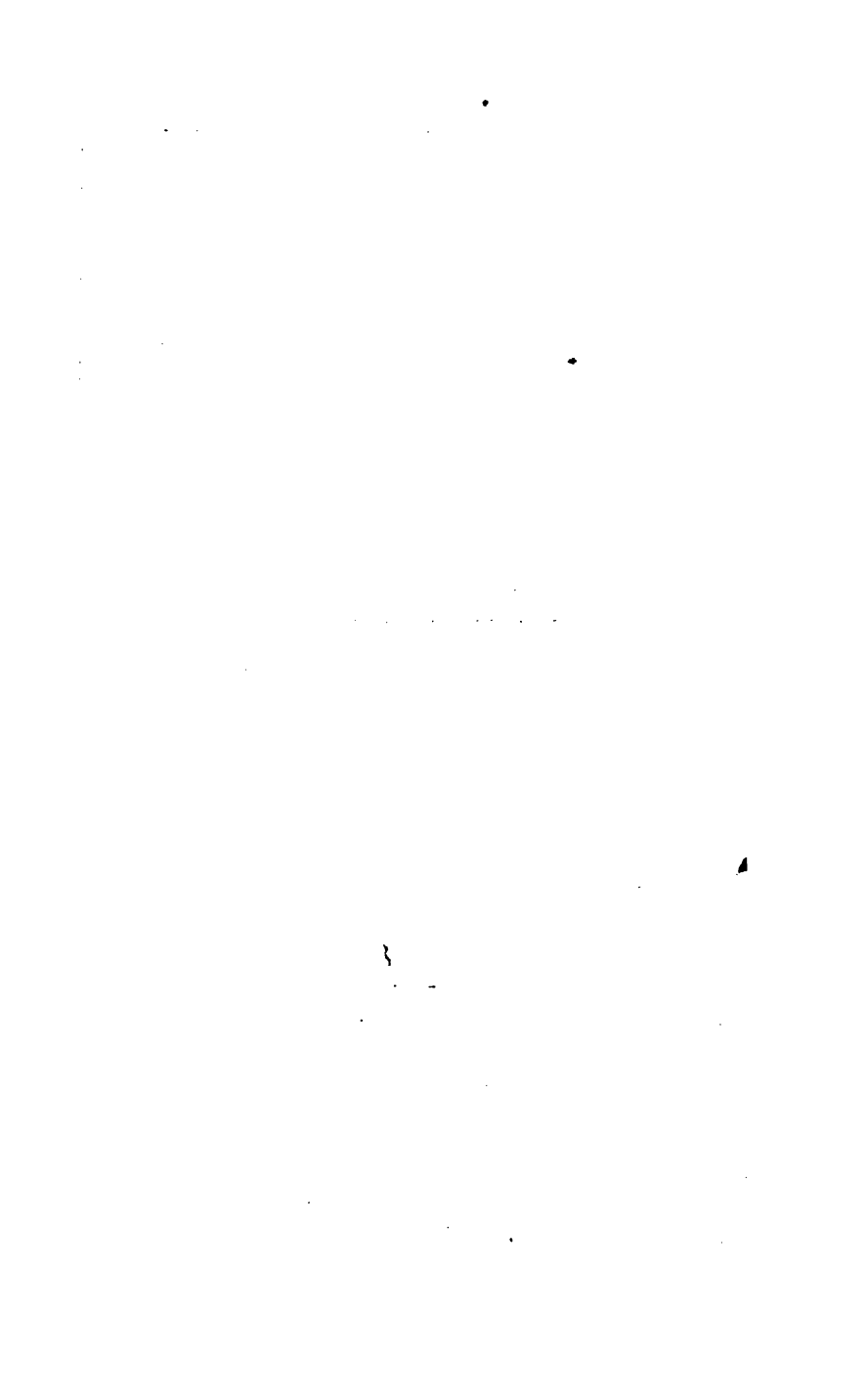
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BURTON AND ITS BITTER BEER.





BURTON-UPON-TRENT.

BURTON

AND ITS

BITTER BEER.

BY
J. STEVENSON BUSHNAN, M.D.,

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS OF EDINBURGH;
AUTHOR OF "MISS MARTINEAU AND HER MASTER," "HOMOEOPATHY AND THE HOMOEOPATHS,"
ETC., ETC., ETC.

"Ale is stout and good,
Whether in bottle it be or wood;
'Tis good at morning, 'tis good at night,—
Ye should drink while the liquor is bubbling bright,—
'Tis good for man, for woman, and child,
Being neither too strong, nor yet too mild."

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PREFACE.

THE history of these pages is as follows:—As Editor of the *Medical Times and Gazette*, and therefore an *ex officio* custodian of the public health, it became my duty to lay before the profession an assertion which had been publicly made by M. Payen, a French Professor, that the bitter of bitter beer was not derived from hops, but owed its presence to strychnine. In my Journal for March the 20th, 1852, therefore, the following remarks were published:—

“A series of lectures on hygiene, by M. Payen, are in course of delivery at the ‘Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers,’ at Paris, and have, we understand, attracted a great deal of attention. In one of these lectures a statement was made, which appeared subsequently in the pages of the *Constitutionnel*, and was thence copied into the *Union Médicale* of the 6th March. Our information is derived from the latter source; and we are thus particular in giving the reference, as the statement referred to is one of deep importance, and to which we would not give circulation did it not appear to have been made on perfect information.

“It is just now the fashion to believe that bitter beer is the best stomachic that was ever invented. What oceans are exported to hot climates, what seas are consumed by dyspeptic ladies and delicate gentlemen in this colder region, surpass belief. The English nation annually consume an Atlantic of beer, and no inconsiderable portion is constituted by the fashionable variety above named. That the bitterness of the best kinds of ‘pale ale’ is given simply by an excess of hops or camomile we firmly believe, and that such a beverage is an

permitted me to examine their *matériel*, and to witness the manufacture of their beer. Nay, more : they placed at my disposal a mass of documents, of which, in the following pages, I have freely availed myself. But, even with this assistance, my work has cost me great labour, and much anxiety. Yet the labour has been one of pleasure, and the anxiety the fear of not doing justice to my subject.

Such as it is, however, I send it forth—not to allay the storm : Mr. Allsopp did that ; but to throw oil upon the yet troubled waters ; and lastly, though not least, that having raised the whirlwind, and commenced the “Great Pale Ale Controversy” which unhappily has called into being jealousies more bitter than the bitterest beer, and more intolerant than those of the Montagues and Capulets, I at least may in some degree offer to Messrs. Allsopp the redress others have denied to them.

I cannot conclude this statement, which, as it appears to me, circumstances have rendered necessary, without observing that I take Messrs. Allsopp’s ales as the type of the class to which they belong. This would not be more than due to them as the representatives of the first brewer of Burton bitter beer ; and is, moreover, especially so, since upon them has fallen the whole burden and expense of proving the innoxious qualities of the general manufacture. Single-handed, they fought the battle of bitter beer,—their brother brewers of Burton gracefully acknowledging their pre-eminence, by allowing them, unaided, to take the post of danger, and to occupy the foremost rank,—privileges doubtless conceded to them in deference to their high standing both in the trade, and in the estimation of the public.

J. S. B.

DOVER, *August*, 1853.

BURTON AND ITS BITTER BEER.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

"What fellowe's that, that hee looks like a mad hogshead of March beer that had run out and threatened a deluge? What is hee?" "Oh, 'tis the wild man, sir."—*Aristiphus*, by THOMAS RANDALL, 1630.

WE would fain discuss with thee, oh reader! a great bibiferous question; and in a gossiping, philosophical, yet familiar spirit, dashed with a spice of sentiment, call spirits, or rather *the* spirit from the *vatty* deep. Under the wizard spell presently will be unsealed a fountain from which will stream forth a liquid, sparkling, pure and bright, as—"the glassy, cool, translucent wave," 'neath which sat Milton's fair Sabrina, interweaving "twisted braids of lilies," 'mid the "loose tresses of her amber-dropping hair;" and singing, for "dear honour's sake," divinest melodies to her sister nymphs, who in their coral beds dispersed around lay listening. Such are the fairy wonders of the waters. But, reader, far more curious, albeit less romantic beings, move on the surface of the earth. Among these are many philosophers of a motley creed, who might once have been inhabitants of the flying island of Laputa. Thus there are metaphysicians abroad who pretend to demonstrate the substratum of matter, which they avow has nothing material about it. There are psychologists also, a newly-imported race of quidnuncs, who sorely puzzle their wits in attempting to unravel the nature of their own souls, which they are at a loss to discover; who would analyse the facul-

ties of the mind, while they deny its absolute existence; and prate about psychology, while ignorant of the very term they prostitute to the exigences of their trade.

There are, furthermore, in the great laboratory of science, weird magicians busily at work, stirring the embers around their crucibles, and endeavouring, by the exercise of their subtle art, to disintegrate our bones, calcinate our flesh, and reduce our very dust, before its time, to its pristine elements. Other pseudo-philosophers also exist who, not animated by the noble daring of Prometheus, indulge in all manner of scientific petty larcenies, striving to undermine our happiness, and surreptitiously to filch from us the creature comforts of our daily life. These are the vegetarians and teetotallers, catiffs who seek presumptuously to tamper with and eradicate those natural appetites, and desires, and affections—those active principles which have, for all-wise purposes, been implanted in the human breast. These would they extirpate, and reduce man to the condition of a poor water-drinking newt—a human being through whose veins only sap would be permitted to flow, which we opine would very speedily render him more sappy than sapient, and deprive him of that energy, which is the very soul of all that is great and glorious in human action. Finally, some, more recondite than these, have by their analytic skill, it is said, succeeded in proving that the human body is, after all, but a mass of materials, held together like the vapour of a cloud, which the dazzling sunbeams may in an instant penetrate and dispel, or some uncertain current of wind scatter through the regions of illimitable space.

Alas! for the frail tenure of human life! a breath is the only connecting link between body and soul—the only stay between time and eternity. Yet does man, “vain man, dressed in a little brief authority,” go about the stage of his existence, propounding his idle dreams, like Bottom the weaver; and ever and anon, with blindfold zeal, persisting in enacting conventional laws, which recoil like spring-manacles upon himself, fettering the freedom of his future will, and tyrannizing over all the after conditions of his social life. Unthinking imitators! ye are ever living in the reflected light of each other's opinions,

and bow with more than heathen idolatry before the great Gog and Magog of Fashion and Custom. Fashion! who does not consult the oracle? Her Pythian voice commands more implicit credence than did the laws of Lycurgus, Solon, or Numa. True! her decrees may be sometimes sphynx-like, and require to be unriddled and modified before they can be adapted to the personal peculiarities of some of her crippled votaries. But at her shrine pain itself is endured with martyr willingness; and the natural proportions of the body distorted to comply with her exactions. High and low, rich and poor, all classes of people bow to her authority.

In a philosophical point of view, fashion governs all our visible relations with the external world; so that the favourable or unfavourable impression which one man makes upon another will be found to depend on his adherence to her laws, as evinced by his address and manners, and the skill and adroitness of his tailor. Verily! oh Diogenes Teufelsdröckh,* thou hast conferred a boon upon posterity, by revealing to us the true philosophy of clothes, and making it plain that the velvet, broadcloth, or serge worn by a man, are only the visible emblems of his inward spirit; for, as an ancient but forgotten philosopher finely remarked—"On earth there is nothing great but man, and in man there is nothing great but mind." The importance of man's outer garments may unconditionally be admitted; but he must have food as well as raiment; and the philosophy of good living—in simple vulgar prose, of eating and drinking—lies clearly enough at the foundation of all human happiness. So with all respect for thee, oh Diogenes! upon whom the mantle of Plato appears to have descended, we would fain when the dinner hour hath approached—when our appetite is keen, and our sense of taste finely attuned—we would fain, we repeat, and most incontinently dispense with the tailor, and eat the goose which connects, visibly and symbolically, the tailoring with the culinary world. Here, too, be it observed, that cooking has among all civilized nations been esteemed one of the fine arts; and it is the only permanent criterion of social refinement and domestic happiness. Nay

* Sartor Resartus.

more,—when this recondite art is “psychologically considered,” it introduces us nearer to the divinity which stirs within us than could otherwise be imagined; for probably, after all, the stomach is the veritable seat of the soul; for the great nervous centre is immediately connected with it; its functional derangements are universally accompanied by disordered mental phenomena; and indigestion disturbs the temper of mankind in all regions of the globe. But be this as it may, physiologists have not yet discovered any more reasonable grounds to place elsewhere its local habitation. At any rate the allocation of the soul in the stomach appears a far more feasible doctrine than that of Descartes, who referred it to an insignificant button of the brain, the pineal gland—an opinion, says Tristram Shandy, to which his father could by no means subscribe; for “the very idea of so noble, so refined, so immaterial, and so excellent a being as the anima, or even the animus, taking up her residence, and sitting dabbling like a tadpole all day long, both summer and winter, in a puddle or in liquid of any kind, how thick or thin soever, he would say shocked his imagination.”

But to eat is one thing, and to drink another; while the *summum bonum* of good living consists in happily adjusting the proportions between our solid and fluid aliments. That cooking, *per se*, is one of the most universal arts, is clearly demonstrable; and hence man has been designated a cooking animal. This much, too, is certain, that all the miscellaneous culinary apparatus of which cooks,—male and female, French or English,—avail themselves,—their kitchen-ranges, fire-stoves, turn-spits, roasting-jacks, and dripping-pans,—have been, since the days of Count Rumford, the ingenious contrivances of eminent philosophers. Indeed, every lord mayor, every sheriff, alderman, dean of guild, doctor, bailiff, parson, vestryman,—in a word, every corporate body, and body corporate, in her Majesty’s dominions, must be aware that the correlative conditions, from time immemorial, upon which churches are built, hospitals founded, or Sunday-schools endowed, have involved the provision of a good dinner, without which it is impossible to inaugurate any great public undertaking. It is on such great occasions that the art of cookery is seen rising, like a

brilliant star, in the ascendant, illuminating and shedding fragrance round the hospitable board; and it is then, amid the cheerful assembly, that an acute observer may perceive the eye of the *connoisseur* glancing to the crystal glasses, the bright decanters, the quaint jugs—the wine, the BITTER BEER; for, by a wise provision of nature, men are more particular in the quality of their fluid than in the choice of their solid food. It is thus that the arts of wine-making and brewing have soared beyond that of cookery; every process connected with them being dependent upon fixed principles, which only men of science could have discovered and successfully applied. Far be it from us, however, to depreciate the culinary art; indeed we candidly confess that we would even acquit of extravagance the Roman emperor, who rejoiced in the gastronomic name of Heliogabalus, and offered a large reward for the discovery of a new dish. As regards drinks, we have a well-founded suspicion that Milton's far-famed fountain of Sabrina was, in truth, the well of Saint Modwen, at Burton, whose waters—now made wine—are quaffed from Indus to the Pole; among the burning sands of the desert, and amid the snowy peaks of the Himalayas; among the ruins of Baalbec and Palmyra, and under the shadows of the Pyramids. We may drink champagne in the caves of Epernay; and at Bourdeaux, claret unpolluted to the taste of the English market. We may luxuriate in unadulterated Burgundy at its richest source—its *bouquet* still perfect and unimpaired by travel, and its brightness undisturbed by the rude shocks of commercial wains. We may worship, where they grew, the fine wines of the Rhone; and those of the Rhine, at Rudesheim, and Johannisberg, and upon monkish graves at Hockheim. We may blissfully linger over Steinberger on the Maine; and sip imperial Tokay in the halls of the princely Hungarian. But all these, like the blue and red flowers among corn, are merely pleasing to the taste; they lack the vigour and the truth of our own malt-wine, our sparkling Burton ale—that delicate BITTER BEER, which cheers, but does not over-excite; which exhilarates, but does not inebriate; which, though it makes us merry, leaves us wise; for as old Fuller hath it, “Temperance is a bridle of gold.”

CHAPTER II.

THE USE AND ABUSE OF SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS.

"We curse not wine—the vile excess we blame."

ARMSTRONG.

DRINK is as essential to life as food or air. The fluid part of man's body far exceeds the solid substance; and this large proportion of the former is continually suffering waste, which requires to be repaired for the preservation of health. At every pore of its surface, the body, during life, never ceases to pour forth fluid, in the form of vapour. When the atmosphere is dry and warm, as in summer, all the moisture yielded by the skin at once evaporates, and becomes diffused through the surrounding air. When this evaporation is complete, there is no sweating; and the perspiration which then takes place is termed insensible perspiration. Sweating occurs when the quantity poured forth in a given time, whether great or small, exceeds what, under present circumstances, can pass at once into vapour. There is not always sweating, but there is always insensible perspiration; for, even under the most profuse sweating, a portion of what is thrown forth must at once be converted into vapour. When circumstances are very favourable to the evaporation of fluid, there may be an excessive loss of moisture by the skin without the slightest indication of sweating; while, in the contrary case, there may be sweating, though no more than a moderate quantity is poured forth. Physiologists reckon the medium daily loss of moisture by the skin, in our climate, at between one and two quarts.

Every one knows how the breath dims a mirror held near the mouth. This dimming of a mirror indicates that the breath comes forth from the chest loaded with moisture. A healthy man breathes about twenty times in a minute; and every breath consists of a mass of air eight inches long, an inch broad, and five inches in height. If this mass, small as it is, be multiplied by twenty, to give the quantity of air thrown forth in a minute; and that again by sixty, to give the quantity

corresponding to an hour; and that again by twenty-four, to give the whole quantity of air thrown out of the lungs in a day of twenty-four hours, we shall be satisfied that the dimming of the glass by every breath indicates no small daily loss of moisture from the body by the process of respiration.

Physiologists estimate the loss of moisture by this channel, in 24 hours, at a quantity equivalent to about a wine pint and a half. Some physiologists, absurdly enough, have believed that the body sometimes receives moisture from the atmosphere along with the breath; that is, they persuade themselves that a man may sometimes quench his thirst by breathing atmospheric air. Their proof of what they say is, that the weight of the body sometimes gains an increase, in the course of a few hours, without a particle of food or drink having been taken. But if such an increase ever really takes place, the fluid must enter by some other channel than the lungs; for to believe that fluid can enter the body with the breath, implies that the breath, instead of dimming a looking-glass, will sometimes dry up the moisture with which it is already bedewed. No one ever saw such an effect. For ages men have truly believed that the breath dims a glass while life continues, and that it only fails to do so when life has ceased. So, in Shakspeare, when Lear is striving to recover Cordelia, he exclaims:—

“Oh! she is gone for ever;
I know when one is dead, and when one lives;
She’s dead as earth.—Lend me a looking-glass;
If that her breath will mist or stain the stone,
Why then she lives.”

If it be said that the air breathed forth may dim a glass, and yet that the same portion of air, as having taken in a very large quantity of moisture with it when it entered in inspiration, may have left some portion of that moisture in the lung; the answer is, that though air may be more or less moist when it enters, yet that it is never so very moist as this supposition implies. The air of the atmosphere is often moist enough to dim a cool glass exposed to it for some time. The breath—that is, the air expired from the lungs—dims a glass, because

the glass is cool, while the expired air is warm, and loaded with moisture. Whenever atmospheric air, which always contains some portion of moisture, comes into contact with a very cold surface, there is an immediate deposition of moisture. This is seen when cold spring water is poured into a tumbler; even in a warm summer day, the outer cooled surface of the glass becomes bedewed with moisture; also, when iced champagne is poured into the glass, the outer surface of the glass is dimmed, owing to moisture being deposited upon it from the air of the room. The more moist the air is at any moment, the less does the outer surface of the vessel require to be cooled to make the deposit of moisture appear. The ancients had remarked this deposit of moisture on smooth cool surfaces, when the atmosphere contained an unusual proportion of moisture.

There is a famous passage in Pliny, which has given much trouble to commentators, now explained to signify, that when the dishes in the cupboard become moist spontaneously, then tempests may be expected: in short, when this indication of unusual moistness of the air occurs, storms are at hand. The same rule explains what happens on the sudden occurrence of thaw, after long-continued and severe frost—stone walls, as the walls of a house, being thoroughly cooled by the continued cold, cause so large a deposition of moisture from the air which comes into contact with them, that the water sometimes trickles down in numerous streams; also in lobbies and stair-cases, where the walls are not lathed, but merely plastered, under such a sudden remission of frost, the water often flows down in an alarming manner. But in all these cases the deposition takes place slowly, and from successive portions of air; and therefore cannot be compared with the rapid and decided effect produced on the looking-glass by a single breath. In short, as no one pretends ever to have seen a person breathe on a glass without decidedly staining it; as the air of the atmosphere, unless perhaps in a Highland mist, is never so moist as to have so rapid an effect; and as the higher temperature which the air acquires in the lungs gives it a greater power of retaining moisture, it is impossible to suppose that the body can ever acquire a supply of moisture by respiration;

or, in other words, we must believe the respiration to be at all times a drain on the moisture of the body.

The loss of moisture by the skin, and that by the lungs in respiration, are described as the insensible transpiration of the body, together amounting in our climate, on an average, to something more than two quarts. These two sources of the expenditure of fluid were hardly recognised by the ancients, nor indeed by the moderns, till a short time before the discovery of the circulation of the blood, when Sanctorio, a professor of Padua, devoted a number of years to the daily estimate of this kind of loss in his own person. In one of the numbers of Addison's *Spectator*, the labours of Sanctorio are ignorantly ridiculed, as if undertaken for the mere purpose of measuring how far the indulgence of sensual gratification was compatible with his bodily health. In one edition of the *Spectator* there is even a caricature of the learned physician, sitting in the statical machine by which his experiments on this subject were conducted.

A quantity of fluid nearly equal to the loss by the twofold source of insensible transpiration, is thrown off daily by the secretion of the kidney.

Hence, then, the necessity for drink to compensate for these large daily drains on the liquid part of the living system; and hence the deprivation of drink, when continued for any considerable time, is attended with the most excruciating sufferings.

The quantity of drink daily necessary cannot be estimated merely by the consideration of the amount of the loss of fluid by the several channels above referred to. We must also take into account the degree in which the aliment is moist or dry.

In primitive states of life, plain water is the natural drink. When man was new upon the earth, to quench his thirst there were no means provided but to stretch himself by the side of the spring or brook, and apply his lips to the fountain or the stream. When his thirst was less urgent, he might have patience to lift the water to his mouth in the hollow of his hand, or in his two hands, joined together. By-and-by he finds an empty nut in the wood, or a bi-valve shell

by the sea shore; and if the nut-shell be large, like that of the cocoa, or the water shell like that of the painter's mussel (*Mya Pictorum*), he triumphs in the discovery of the convenience of a rude drinking-cup. Pure water is, in truth, an unexceptionable drink; most unequivocally a real luxury. But how seldom is it to be met with on the earth's surface! How many times must the nut or mussel-shell be dipped into the well and applied to the lips, in a strange district, before even palatable water can be discovered! How often may even palatable water contain latent poison, or the seeds of severe or fatal diseases! Even spring water may contain saline matter sufficient to give origin, by its habitual use, to ordinary gravel, or to goitre, and to bowel complaints in those unaccustomed to the use of that particular kind of water. A refined chemical analysis, in the most recent times, has taught us how even pure water may readily become a cause of disease, and a source of danger to life. Man, at a very early period of his history, discovered that much of the water he met with in his journeys was unwholesome; but it was reserved for our times to point out some of the more latent sources of danger connected with its use. Even distilled water may not be free from danger, unless carefully kept in glass vessels. If distilled water be allowed to stand in contact with lead, it quickly comes to contain the metal, both dissolved and suspended, in a state of fine division; so that if used for drink to any great extent, it would produce the peculiar poisonous effects on the body which belong to preparations of lead, such as house painters, plumbers, printers, and all those artificers are subject to, who handle very much any form of lead in the course of their employment. If pure water contract such a poisonous quality from mere contact with lead, it must seem strange that lead pipes are still used to convey water from a distance, and lead cisterns to preserve it for use, as plainly was the practice in the most ancient times.

"Purior in vicis aqua tendit rumpere plumbum,

Quam quæ per pronum trepidat cum murmure rivum ?

HOR. EPIST. I., x. v. 20.

Here we have the authority of Horace for the fact that

lead pipes were used to distribute water through the streets of ancient Rome. And it turns out, by the investigations of modern chemistry, that it is only when water possesses a certain amount of impurity that it does not contract a poisonous quality by contact with lead. All natural waters, inasmuch as they contain atmospheric air, act upon lead; the oxygen of this air quickly oxidates the metal; the oxide is converted into carbonate by combination with carbonic acid derived from the air; and, as before stated, the water comes to contain lead, both dissolved and suspended, in a state of fine division.* Rain water acts upon lead with as great rapidity as distilled water; hence great care is requisite in collecting and keeping it when it is designed to be employed as drink. All waters which spring from the earth are strictly spring waters; but by conventional usage, all those which abound unusually in carbonic acid gas, or possess an elevated temperature, or contain so large a proportion of salts as to be unpalatable, are not so called. Those springs which arise from trap-rocks, sandstone, transition rocks, and primitive rocks, are the purest; those from alluvial strata, from beds of the coal formation, with the exception of sandstone, and from limestone of all kinds, are commonly the least pure. If water contain more than one-twentieth per cent. of saline matter, it is unfit for use as drink. Spring waters, like distilled and rain water, act upon lead; but unless in the case of the purer of these, the lead becomes so incrustated with the products of the reaction between the lead and the saline matter, that the further chemical action on the metal is prevented. Thus spring water kept in leaden cisterns proves a poison, unless when the original proportion of saline impurity is considerable. Not a few instances have occurred of late in which families have suffered the symptoms of painter's colic, owing to the contact of water of too great purity with leaden pipes and cisterns.

Lake and river water are seldom safe for drink without some method of purification. The filter is an invention of modern times. In many situations "river water is apt to engender endemic dysentery, and other bowel affections; and

* Christison on Poisons.

such diseases are usually observed to be most virulent where water of this kind is habitually drank."* The waters of marshy districts, though often remarkable for their softness, and therefore particularly suited to many domestic purposes, for drink are the most pernicious of all. What is the moral, then, of this history of water as drink? Simply, that water has had its victims as well as alcohol!

When the purest water is drank too cold—the body being much heated at the time—the effect is very often fatal. According to Quintus Curtius, Alexander the great lost more men on the banks of the Oxus, owing to the coldness of its waters, than in any of his great battles. The Dauphin, son of Francis the First, of France, died four hours after he had quenched his thirst with cold water, having been previously heated by playing fives.

As primitive man advances in the knowledge of nature, he daily adds to his resources for quenching thirst; and earliest among these, next to water, stand the various succulent, and particularly the acidulous fruits, some of which are conducive to his bodily health in other respects besides affording a supply of liquid.

Ere long he adds milk, whey, and other prepared forms of milk to the means of quenching his thirst.

Nothing escapes man's attention—he has an insatiable curiosity, the gift of his Creator, for the wisest of purposes. He leaves nothing untouched, unhandled, untasted. Nothing exists or is produced fit for food, or fit to give relish to food or drink, which he does not quickly discover and use. It was impossible, then, that the rapid fermentation of the juice of the grape should long escape him, any more than the fermentation by which the flour of wheat becomes leavened. If Noah was the first who planted a vineyard and made wine, the antediluvian world found it easy to go to the extreme of wickedness without the incitement of alcoholic drinks, which some now erroneously regard as the sole source of crimes. Natural wines—that is, wines unmixed artificially with ardent spirits—can never have any great degree of strength—for example, not

* Christison.

greater than that marked by ten, twelve, or fifteen per cent. of spirit. In all ages wines have been more prized for those qualities which address themselves to the palate, than for their strength. And this indeed is no slight argument for the naturalness of the inclination for wine as drink. The sense of taste, and the sense of smell, are jointly the guardians of the stomach, for the great purpose of preventing anything from being received into the body which might prove hurtful. The guardianship, however, of these two senses does not extend to determining the quantity of any food or drink which the stomach can bear. But apart from quantity, how could it be maintained that these senses were in any degree guardians of the stomach, if it were wholly unnatural to drink wines, which, of all known products of human skill, exerted on the manifest gifts of nature, are those among which are found the most exquisite flavour—that is to say, the kind of quality to which these two guardian senses accord the highest testimony of approbation?

As man proceeds in his scrutiny of the works of nature, new sources of palatable drink present themselves to his attention; and next to the juice of the grape stands cider, the wine of the juice of apples. Cider has not gained the approbation of mankind through so great a range of the earth as wine. It is chiefly a favourite in those districts which are temperate and even warm in climate, without being sufficiently heating for the inhabitants of the colder and more northern tracts of the world. The districts in which cider predominates may be described as intermediate in temperature between those of wine and beer.

Beer, as we shall in our next chapter show, appears to have been discovered at a very early period by the northern nations of Europe; and alcohol was long known to men of science before it was used as a stimulating drink. Its discoverer is probably unknown; but Raymond Lully, who lived a little later than Friar Bacon, or in the time of the two first Edwards of England—the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—was acquainted with it. The Rev. Dr. Cumming, the minister of one of the Presbyterian Chapels in London, made a mistake

when, in a sermon, he told the Queen that Paracelsus was the discoverer of alcohol. Paracelsus lived two hundred years later than Raymond Lully. The moral of this anecdote is "ne auctor ultra crepidam."

The several spirits in use as stimulating drinks consist of alcohol in a diluted state, and combined with various essential oils derived from the wine, malt, or farinaceous substances from which each particular spirit is made. Alcohol is known to chemists in several forms, differing from each other chiefly in the degree of dilution. For some years past chemists have been acquainted with absolute alcohol—that is, alcohol entirely free from water. Absolute alcohol is a colourless liquid, more than one-fifth lighter than water. It boils forty degrees below the boiling point of water, and cannot be frozen by any degree of cold hitherto produced. There are two forms of diluted alcohol in use among chemists—namely, rectified spirit and proof spirit; the latter is also known by the name of spirit of wine. Rectified spirit contains from sixty-six to seventy per cent. of alcohol. When it has a specific gravity of eight hundred and forty, water being one thousand, the amount per cent. is ninety. Ordinary spirit of wine, or proof spirit, is made by mixing equal parts of water and rectified spirit containing ninety per cent. of alcohol. Ordinary spirits, such as brandy, &c., contain from fifty to fifty-two per cent. of alcohol.

Alcohol is obtained in an impure form from fermented liquids, as wines or beers, by distillation:—wines being the fermented juices of fruits; while beers are the fermented infusions of the seeds of the cerealia.

It is not, however, the process of distillation which generates alcohol: all the alcohol obtainable from a wine or a beer is already contained in that wine or that beer, and is merely separated from the rest of the constituents by the process; and thus wines and beers owe their stimulating qualities to the presence of alcohol. Ordinary wines contain ten or twelve per cent. of alcohol, thus corresponding to a grog made with four waters. Wines, however, are to be met with—particularly port wines—corresponding to a mixture with equal parts of brandy and water. Beers are weaker in alcohol than wines;

and, since it is undeniable that any considerable proportion of alcohol received daily into the stomach is often attended with hurtful consequences, the great problem of modern hygiene is to produce a palatable, stimulating liquor, having as much refreshing character as possible, with a minimum of alcohol in its composition;—in short, to afford to the public at large, a wine or a beer at a moderate expense, which, by its palatable qualities, shall compensate for the moderate proportion of alcohol contained in it.

Man's eager curiosity concerning the properties of the products of nature, in relation to his own sustenance and enjoyment, has led him to the discovery of two most remarkable plants—namely, the tea-plant and the coffee-plant. To the use of both, great evils to health have been ascribed; but when each is kept to its proper place in dietetics, there can be no doubt that a most beneficial influence upon health is the result. The abuse of tea—the abuse of coffee, is an evil to the individual who has failed to learn not to misuse the gifts of Providence. There are some men, we believe, ardently engaged in the temperance movement, who regard the use of tea, coffee, tobacco, of beer, wine, spirits, as standing in the one category of sinfulness towards God. Surely these men mistake the character of God's dealings with his creatures. They would interpret the beneficence of the Creator in permitting so many bounties of nature, by the fable of Tantalus. They remind us of John Bunyan, when he forgot himself so far as to say that beautiful women should be disfigured to prevent the evils they cause to the world. We may say that honest John then forgot, for a moment, who created the world, and peopled it with men and women; and more than this, that He made them after His own image, and did not design the work of His hands to be defaced even by so faithful a servant. They forget the conditions on which man is placed upon earth as an accountable creature. They forget that moral evil is the abuse of free-will; that without temptation there could be no virtue; and that our present state is a state of probation. Their mode of dealing with men is drawn from the institutions of the recluses of La Trappe. The

Christian doctrine is, that those who love God keep His commandments; and these commandments are not burdensome—not mere mortifications of the flesh. In God's commandments there is no prohibition of tea, coffee, tobacco, beer, wine, or spirits; but if the use of any one of these unfit us for any of the duties of life, whether these be towards God, our neighbour, or ourselves, then the use of that article is forbidden; or its use must be confined within the limits necessary to prevent interference with the due performance of duty. If a man cannot use tea, coffee, or tobacco without running into hurtful excess; and if he can avoid this error by abstaining altogether from that article, to an over-indulgence in which he is prone; it is unquestionably an imperative duty with him to resolve upon total abstinence as regards it, and to deny himself the indulgence. But how unreasonable would it be—how inconsistent with common sense—to insist on this case coming within the Scripture precept of avoiding offence to weaker brethren; and to ask the rest of the human race to abstain from tea, coffee, and tobacco for the sake of diminishing the infinitesimal proportion of those who suffer in digestion by over-indulgence in these articles. But of this topic hereafter.

“Vivere convenienter naturæ”—to live in obedience to nature—is a text upon which the most discordant views, as to the rules of life, have been preached. On this head some of the promoters of the temperance movement have talked themselves into the belief of much rank, unmixed, most unmitigated nonsense. According to the principles advocated by these gentlemen, it would be easy to prove that man departs from the institutions of his Maker when he makes clothes for himself; when he builds for himself a shed; when he kindles a fire wherewith to warm himself; or when he cooks his food. Man is sent into the world, to use the language of physiology, with certain potentialities or susceptibilities which are developed into an actuality, varying in extent and character according to the particular circumstances under which each individual is placed. The development of the race, or of any part of it, is the aggregate of the development of the indivi-

duals concerned. Thus civilization is as much a part of man's original nature as the savage state—if that term be rightly applied to man's primitive condition, in which he was certainly a very different being from those to whom the epithet "savage" is applied in our times. Civilization, it is true, is not one unvarying condition of humanity marked by that perfection which is seen in communities of animals like those of beavers, ants, and bees. Nevertheless, each state of civilization has its limits marked out by the original susceptibilities of man's nature, while its imperfections and defect of fixedness of character are due to his free-will, which, however, operates only within prescribed limits. The Creator, by appointing the original susceptibilities of man's nature, sufficiently secures that course of human events which he has predetermined; but in giving man a free-will, not conceded to other animals, he places a limit on his own power, in consequence of which moral evil becomes possible, and human events acquire a tinge of that waywardness and imperfection which belong to the character of man as an individual.

But it is seldom difficult to separate the purpose of the Creator as respects man, from those antic fancies—like fashions of the day—which owe their origin to the vagaries of human reason. Whatever happens in the world undoubtedly happens by the will of the Creator. Is God, then, the author of sin? some one will say. When God gave to man free-will, he for a time limited his own power. Sin is man's abuse of free-will. These observations, it must be seen, are for the purpose of aiding us to distinguish those usages which are conformable to man's nature, from those which are contrary to the intentions of the Creator.

Few, we imagine, will carry absurdity so far as directly to deny that it lay within the intention of the Creator that man should make clothes for himself; construct a shed; kindle a fire wherewith to warm himself and cook his food. But if it be conceded that man's progress in these respects is plainly in accordance with the intentions of the Creator, there plainly cannot be any limit to mark what usages are in accordance with man's original nature, throughout his whole progress in civiliza-

tion, unless when proof is given that such usages are directly repugnant to his moral, intellectual, or physiological character. There are some usages of a different character which prevail among portions of the human race, without going beyond the same *primâ facie* view of the cases; for example, those savage nations who alter the form of the head in infancy by gradual compression, surely act in direct opposition to the intentions of the Creator; as do the Chinese when they limit the natural growth in the feet of their female children; and as did the ancient gluttons when they provoked vomiting immediately after a meal, for the purpose of enjoying the pleasures of the table a second time. And it would be easy to multiply such cases.

We do not conceal from ourselves that considerable difficulties present themselves in the question, how far those who indulge in opium, tobacco, bang, beetel-nut, or the coco of South America can be described as living in accordance with nature. In the excessive use of all these substances there is unquestionably a great abuse of free-will. But the question still remains, whether a man, desirous of the character of living within the rules dictated by nature, can partake of any of these indulgences, without forfeiting that character. It should be remarked, in the first place, that the selfish, solitary character of these indulgences in general, stamps them with a suspicious character. Another forbidding mark imprinted upon them is, that the scum and outcasts of society—the men who habitually spurn all laws, human and divine—stand conspicuously foremost in the practice of such usages. These circumstances, and the acknowledged difficulty of confining all such habits within the limits compatible with health and the complete possession of the mental faculties, are strong arguments against their use with a man seeking to obey reason; but they do not settle the question—they do not prohibit a man, strong in his power of self-control, from feeling that he may indulge in any of them, within a certain limit, without being chargeable with living contrary to nature. If we cannot find the means of proving even these selfish, solitary indulgences absolutely contrary to nature, how is it likely any one should be successful in showing that the use of alcoholic

drinks, of which the original type is wine, is contrary to the intentions of the Creator as respects man?

To consider the history of man's social progress, apart from the influence which the use of wine in convivial intercourse has exercised upon it, would indeed be a hopeless task. Had wine never been known, the aspect of man upon earth would certainly have been very different, probably showing a nearer approach to the savage state. It is common to regard the discovery of gunpowder, that of the mariner's compass, the invention of printing, as among the events which have in particular swayed the course of man's progress. But let any one consider for a moment how much more intimately of social intercourse, under the genial excitement of wine, affects human feelings, human thoughts, and human actions; and he will certainly confess that nothing can have acted so powerfully to determine the history of man upon earth as the discovery of wine.

There is, then, a great fact to be dealt with. The use of alcoholic drinks is essentially mixed up with man's past history; that is, the use of alcoholic drinks is in part, and in no small part, the cause of man's actual progress from the primitive to his present state of civilization, within the countries included in Christendom. The question, then, is not so much, could he maintain his present social position were alcoholic drinks wholly abolished; but is it practicable to do away with these drinks in any such degree as could exercise a material influence on the educated part of society? We subscribe entirely to the following sentiments, from a well-known medical journal:—"We are far from denying that teetotalism has wrought no small improvement on the labouring class. But, as it rests on a false principle, we doubt its permanence. And, on the same ground, we dissuade the well-meaning from pressing this false principle on the middle ranks of society. All past experience shows that whenever a false principle has gained ground among men, the final effects of reaction are of the most mischievous character. On the maturest reflection we feel compelled to pronounce the total temperance movement the creature of a day—a short-lived enthusiasm—a bubble that will float a while on the stream of time, but which must of necessity burst ere many

years have elapsed, probably long before the living generation has passed wholly away."

The prevalence of the desire for stimulants among men, shows that if it does not belong to man's original constitution, it certainly belongs to that constitution which comes to prevail in civilized states of society. It is vain to urge on mankind the mischiefs of indulgence in the stronger alcoholic potations. These no one denies, and least of all those who habitually indulge in such potations. Nothing is more transparent than the fallacy of the argument again and again urged by Dr. Carpenter and others, that because indulgence in the strongest alcoholic drinks, to excess, is undeniably injurious to health, therefore the moderate use even of those which are weaker must be injurious also. This fallacy is well exposed in the following passage from a review of Dr. Carpenter's *Essay* in the medical journal already quoted:—"In illustration of the fallacy of the kind of reasoning adopted in our author's second proposition, we cannot help giving an example from a subject with which he is justly entitled to claim an intimate acquaintance. Atmospheric air is fully as essential to animal life as food or water, and this air bears by no means a slight analogy to punch, since it consists of the aerial spirit, oxygen, diluted with four parts of inert nitrogen (oxygen and nitrogen are the kinds of air which enter into the composition of the atmosphere). Oxygen is the part of this compound which is essential to life—so essential that if an animal be deprived of it, even for no very great number of seconds, it perishes; and yet, if this animal be put into pure oxygen gas, life is destroyed, at the latest, within twelve hours. Thus, were Dr. Carpenter's mode of reasoning applied to determine the probable effects of the habitual breathing of atmospheric air, without the knowledge of any other facts on the subject than that oxygen, when pure, kills at farthest in twelve hours, and when somewhat diluted, that it produces fatal consequences after a somewhat longer time, the conclusion would be, that the breathing of atmospheric air should be abandoned, inasmuch as it contains a deleterious ingredient." The case here referred to is exactly parallel to the case of undiluted spirits, as compared with wine

and beer. Oxygen gas, though essential to life, is a rapid poison when undiluted. When diluted with four parts of nitrogen gas, it constitutes that air which every individual breathes to the extent of thousands of cubic feet every day, not merely with impunity, but as an essential condition on which the maintenance of life depends. Like fallacies attend the statistics brought forward to show how large a quantity of spirits are annually consumed by every man, woman, and child, in certain quarters of the empire; how great the consumption of spirits among those who commit crimes; and how small the mortality is among teetotallers as compared with that in communities in which alcoholic drinks are in use. The public know that the quantity of spirits reported to be consumed annually by each man, woman, and child, is easily accounted for from the annual consumption by a small proportion of confirmed drunkards, together with what is consumed in occasional festivity, without any necessity for the supposition, that the population at large consume daily any considerable proportion. In short, from the statistics so much cried up, it would be easy to show the general sobriety of the people.

As to the connection between crimes and drunkenness there exist some singular fallacies; as if crimes only occurred in those countries in which ardent spirits are largely consumed. It is easy to understand that the lawless are great consumers of spirits, just because they are lawless; but that lawless men would not exist in our time but for the easy access to ardent spirits, is one of the grossest fallacies that was ever imposed on the human mind. Cain slew his brother Abel before alcoholic drinks were known. There is no evidence that the wickedness of the antediluvian world, which brought upon the heads of men the vengeance of Heaven, was in any degree due to their indulgence in alcoholic drinks; since in scripture Noah is spoken of as the first to plant a vineyard, and make wine. Look at the multiplied crimes of the ancient world, when nothing but weak wines were within their reach; look to the annals of Spain and Italy, and see how crimes of the deepest dye can prevail amid a general sobriety. And is there no counterpart to the picture of crimes really lying at

the door of alcoholic drinks? If there are quarrels over the wine-flask, are there no friendships cemented, no kindly feelings cultivated? As to the greater prevalence of disease where spirit drinking is common, it is undeniable. But where is the country in which the value of human life is greater than in England? and where is the country in which, as compared with the population, so large a quantity of alcohol is consumed in the form of malt liquor?

The public, in short, is thoroughly persuaded, a small proportion of fanatics excepted, that there is nothing hurtful, except excess, as respects the use of alcohol in drinks. And the practical question really comes to be—shall we best promote the cause of temperance by trying to persuade people contrary to their inclinations to take the pledge against all kinds of alcoholic drinks, from brandy to small beer; or by urging them to confine themselves to the use of those liquors which are palatable, refreshing, and invigorating, with a minimum of alcohol?

The public is quite sufficiently convinced that excesses in the use of alcoholic drinks are in the highest degree hurtful to the health both of body and mind. Dr. Carpenter and other authors waste precious time in their attempt to paint in still more and more glowing colours the frightful effects of excesses in alcohol upon the human frame and upon society. All such attempts are supererogatory; still more useless are their attempts to convince men that weak alcoholic drinks taken daily, or occasionally in moderate quantity, are injurious. The public feel that their health and comfort are intimately connected with the use of an occasional stimulus. In a civilized community like our own, the public may be regarded as divisible into two classes, the robust and the debilitated; the robust cannot be injured by a moderate daily use of the weaker alcoholic stimulants, and the debilitated are benefited by the use of the same. On the same point Dr. Carpenter shall speak for himself:—"There is another class of cases, in which we believe that these malt liquors (bitter beer, Indian pale ale) constitute a better medicine than could be administered under any other form; those, namely, in which the stomach labours under a

permanent deficiency of digestive power, consequent either upon original debility or upon persistence in some unhealthful system during the preceding part of life. There are many such cases, in which no form of medical or hygienic treatment seems able to develop in the stomach that spontaneous power, which it has either completely lost, or which it never possessed, and in which the artificial excitement of an alcoholic stimulus affords the only means of procuring the digestion of the amount of food which the system really requires. Here, then, we consider that as there is but a choice of evils, the sufferer is fully entitled to choose the least; and we must account the daily use of a tumbler or two of bitter ale a less evil than the constant debility which results from imperfect nutrition, attended as this is with the feeling of utter incapacity for the duties or enjoyments of life, and with a constant liability to the attacks of depressing disease." Dr. Carpenter even goes further than this: he asserts that, in indigestion, "a glass of bitter beer or pale ale, taken with the principal meal of the day, does more good, and less harm, than any medicine the physician can prescribe."*—(*The Scottish Review*, No. I., p. 24, article initialled W. B. C.)

Dr. Carpenter, it is true, adds that the stomach should not be rendered more dependent on this artificial assistance than is absolutely necessary. But surely, in the passages above cited, he has conceded all that the most sturdy enemies of the total temperance movement demand. He admits that the debilitated are much benefited by a moderate allowance of weaker alcoholic drink; and we challenge him to maintain that the robust can be injured by a quantity equal to that which he concedes to

* If it were allowable to treat such a subject in any other way than gravely; or to suppose so eminent a temperance authority and grave physician could be guilty of a travesty, we might really suppose our prize Essayist writing—

The doctors may boast of their lotions,
 Old women delight in their tea;
 But I scorn all such rubbishy potions:—
 A glass of old Burton for me!
 Let the faculty sneer as it pleases—
 My recipe never can fail;
 The Nepenthe that cures all diseases
 Is a bumper of Allsopp's ale.

the debilitated. The robust feel it a comfort to refresh themselves with a moderate quantity of such drink after labour, whether of mind or body. Why should they be denied such a comfort? Is life in other respects so purely a scene of enjoyment that the moral character of the individual might be spoiled by this small indulgence? We admit that robust men do not require alcoholic drink for their health; and that the only argument for granting them an allowance of such liquor is its being for their comfort. Yet why deny this comfort? But Dr. Carpenter will exclaim—"If they persevere in this indulgence it will finally hurt their health." Where is the proof? The world at large instinctively feels that it is the grossest fudge to babble about the hurt done to a robust man by a daily glass of Allsopp's beer. But in a civilized state of society, who are the debilitated? Are the debilitated the exception or the rule? The youth of Britain are unquestionably robust as a rule—more robust considerably than those of the adjacent Continental nations; but will Dr. Carpenter so far sacrifice the common sense which we know he possesses, as to say that the youth of Britain would long maintain this character for robustness if the nation at large were to give way to the new-fangled follies of total temperance and vegetarianism? Certainly not. To be robust one must eat and drink. But even the robust character of our youth does not prevent society from exhibiting a large proportion of the debilitated in its ranks. And among these stand not a few who, in early life, belonged to the robust class. The employments of civilized life do not favour the retention of a robust constitution throughout life. Sedulous application to business, under all possible circumstances, is a distinguishing feature of our population; and health is uniformly a secondary consideration. Hence one great cause of enfeebled digestion and deficient vigour of living action, the result of that very energy and mental resolution by which our population is distinguished, prevails extensively in every district of the country. By Dr. Carpenter's own showing, this universally prevalent source of debility is counteracted by a moderate indulgence in the use of alcoholic drinks. Employ the robust youth of Britain in out-of-doors occupation,

in the labours of the field or in military service, and their robust habit of body and resolute disposition of mind will remain unimpaired till a late period of life; but these qualities will not uniformly withstand confinement within doors, mental anxieties, irregularity of meals and late hours, so common in almost every department of business in this country. Still less do these qualities withstand the dissipations of pleasure, the bane of so many of the young, whose circumstances do not compel them to engage in trade, or who subject themselves to those sources of debility in addition to those which the anxieties and confinement of business entail upon them. Moreover, it must be considered that the decrease of the annual mortality in this country within the last century arises in a great measure from the much greater number of infants reared to manhood and womanhood, possessed of a constitution so feeble that they have only escaped death in childhood by the great care with which they were reared. Here there is a number of debilitated individuals added to the population—a number which will always bear a proportion to the smallness of the mortality prior to the age of puberty. We are no believers in the gradual degeneracy of a people in proportion as civilization advances; but it is undeniable that according as the mortality in early life declines, a larger proportion of debilitated individuals become added to the adult population, so as in some measure to give rise to an enfeebled offspring. Two qualifications require to be made on this statement—that a feeble individual not unfrequently is the parent of a more robust offspring; and that some of the circumstances, falling under the general term civilization, materially tend to increase the number of robust youth, more particularly the improved knowledge of the principles of nutrition in infancy and childhood. The effect of the joint operation of these causes must be twofold:—to increase the general vigour of the whole population, it is true; but, by saving many who would otherwise perish, to create in a more marked manner a distinction between the robust and the feeble. From these considerations, then, it clearly appears how well-founded the distinction of the population is into the robust and the debilitated, and how

very numerous the latter class must be. We have said above that the robust class cannot be injured by a small daily quantity of the weaker alcoholic liquors—or, if this be not absolutely true, what is the kind of injury which they are likely to sustain? Is it not that they in consequence become over full-blooded—over plethoric? Yes, this is the kind of risk they run, though hardly if the quantity taken be moderate, and the diet be proportionately modified. That is—it is undeniably true that the use of the weaker kinds of alcoholic drink tend to produce over-nutrition. Dr. Carpenter tries to evade this conclusion by referring to the small amount of nutrient matter contained in any moderate quantity of malt liquor, saying—“That the whole amount of solid matters, dissolved in a quart of strong beer (which is a fair daily allowance for a moderate man) is not greater than is furnished by a slip of bread the size of one’s finger.”

Is it not the nutriment that is so important, especially to the debilitated, but the stimulus afforded by the alcoholic liquor by which the power is given of assimilating a larger quantity of aliment than the digestive organs are able, without such aid, to render available. To many, digestion is a painful process, in general attended with numerous uneasy feelings, to each of which the attention is strongly drawn. When a small quantity of alcoholic drink after a meal augments the activity of all the functions, especially the circulation, respiration, innervation and secretion, and at the same time exhilarates the mind, the painfulness of digestion disappears, and the aliment is rendered more available for nutrition. How much does cheerfulness contribute to the facility of digestion! And what tends more to cheerfulness than a little alcoholic drink? One of the earliest entertainments recorded is that given in Egypt, by Joseph to his brethren, when they eat, drank, and were merry. The total temperance league would banish cheerfulness and mirth out of the world.

We are curious to learn how Dr. Carpenter contrives to reconcile the general tenor of the sentiments contained in the *Review*, to which we have referred, with those passages in which he admits the usefulness of pale ale in debilitated habits.

In the previous pages of the *Review*, poison is the lightest epithet applied by him to the effects of the pale ale on the human constitution. His teetotal friends read and glory in the powerful unction of their advocate; they know he is a man of science; they wonder that facts and reasonings, like those produced in the *Review*, were never before brought to bear on the total temperance cause, and already anticipate the complete discomfiture of their most formidable opponents "by this second Daniel come to judgment." But while, like Shylock, they are crying out—

"O noble judge! O excellent young man!

. O wise and upright judge!

How much more elder art thou than thy looks!"

their hopes, like the Jew's, are dashed in a moment by coming upon the passages we have quoted. Nay, so wroth do they become, that, but for the police, poor Dr. Carpenter would run no small risk of being tarred and feathered, tossed in a blanket, pelted with rotten eggs, or, more appropriately, held for half-an-hour under a pump to wash out the scarlet of his offence—his breach of allegiance to the majesty of pure water!

But, after all, it is perhaps Dr. Carpenter's misfortune that the days of martyrdom are gone by. How glorious would it have been for him in after times to have stood in the roll of those who have witnessed to the truth with their lives! for thus Socrates and Carpenter would have figured in the same catalogue. Further, posterity might ere long have lost all record of his folly in the defence of teetotalism; while, on the contrary, owing to his death being directly caused by his commendation of malt-wine, his name might have gone down associated with the names of Homer and Anacreon :—

"Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus."

In short, Dr. Carpenter, by living in an age and country so orderly as ours, has lost his only chance of future fame; for we are firm believers in the ancient authority quoted by Horace :—

"Nulla placere diu, nec vivere carmina possunt,
Quæ scribuntur aquæ potoribus."

Dr. Carpenter must really take this subject into his serious consideration ; he has before him the chance of future fame, if he will but provoke his quondam friends, the teetotallers, to brave the authority of the law, and make a martyr of him at once. There is a certain Epsilon* who will not be slow to lead on a whole alphabet of total abstiners to do appropriate vengeance upon Dr. Carpenter. If they drown him in a butt of pale ale, they will give him a gentle death, and yet make him eat the cause of offence in his last moments. Alas ! poor Dr. Carpenter ! Here is his epitaph :—

Hic Jacet
Faber Lignarius,
Qui
Laudibus Vini
Præmaturam Sibi Arcessivit Mortem.

But to conclude. The question between us and the teetotallers lies in a nut-shell. They say the world is overrun with intemperance ; and dwell on the dreadful effects of ardent spirits. Thus far we entirely agree with them. Moreover, we say all the world, even the intemperate themselves, are of the same opinion. We say, take the intemperate at their word ; give them a weak alcoholic drink, palatable, and at a cheap rate, and join with them in drinking it. No—say the inexorable teetotallers—you must swallow our logic, otherwise we can come to no terms with you ; our Shibboleth is—brandy is pernicious ; therefore you must abstain from small beer !

* See pamphlet, "Is Alcohol Safe as a Medicine?" By Epsilon. London : Tweedie.



CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF ALE.

“From old records
Of antique proverbs, drawn from Whitsun-lords
And their authorities at cakes and ales,
With country precedents, and old wives’ tales,
We bring you now.” BEN JONSON.

“ALE,” quoth John Taylor, the water poet, “is rightly called nappy, for it will set a nap upon a man’s threadbare eyes when he is sleepy. It is called merry-goe-downe, for it slides down merrily; it is fragrant to the scent; it is most pleasant to the taste; the flowing and mantling of it (like chequerworke), with the verdant smile of it, is delightfull to the sight; it is touching or feeling to the braine and heart; and (to please the senses all) it provokes men to singing and mirth, which is contenting to the hearing. The speedy taking of it doth comfort a heavy and troubled minde; it will make a weeping widow laugh and forget sorrow for her deceased husband; it is truly termed the spirit of the buttery, for it puts spirit into all it enters. It makes the footman’s head and heeles so light that he seems to fly as he runnes; it is the warmest lining of a naked man’s coat; it satiates and assuageth hunger and cold; with a toaste, it is the poor man’s comfort; the shepheard, mower, plowman, and blacksmith’s most esteemed purchase; it is the tinker’s treasure, the pedlar’s jewell, the beggar’s joy, and the prisoner’s loving nurse; it will whet the wit so sharp, that it will make a carter talk of things beyond his reach; it will set a bashful suitor a wooing; it heates the chill blood of the aged; it will cause a man to speak past his owne or any other man’s capacity of understanding; it sets an edge upon logick and retorick; it is a friend to the Muses; it inspires the poore poet that cannot compasse the price of Canarie or Gascoigne; it mounts the musician above Ecla; it makes the ballad-maker rime beyond reason; it is a repaire of decayed colour in the face; it puts eloquence into the oratour; it will make the philosopher talk profoundly, the scholler learnedly,

and the lawyer acute and feelingly. Ale at Whitsuntide, or a Whitson church ale, is a repairer of decayed country churches; it is a great friend to the truth, for they that drink of it (to the purpose) will reveale all they knowe, be it never so secret to be kept. It is an embleme of justice, for it allowes and yeelds measure; it will put courage into a coward, and make him swagger and fight; it is a seale to many a good bargaine. The physician will commend it; the lawyer will defend it; it neither hurts or kills any but those who abuse it immeasurably and beyond bearing; it doth good to as many as take it rightly; it is as good as a paire of spectacles to cleare the eyesight of an old parish clarke; and, in conclusion, it is such a nourisher of mankinde, that if my mouthe were as bigge as Bishopsgate, my pen as long as a maypole, and my inke a flowing spring or a standing fishpond, yet I could not, with mouth, pen, or inke, speake or write the true worth and worthinesse of ale."

If so "right merry and conceited" a writer discovered that his powers were inadequate to sing the glories of this national beverage, we may be pardoned extending our retrospect far into the vista of antiquity.

The learned assure us that ale was no unknown beverage to the Pharaohs. It may be that the ale-pots, as well as the flesh-pots, of Egypt were sighed after by the thirsty Israelites during their first wanderings in the Desert. "The fertility of the soil in grain, and its being not proper for vines," says Dr. Arbuthnot, "put the Egyptians upon drinking *ales*, of which they were the inventors;" while Xenophon, in his "Retreat of the Ten Thousand," certifies us that the Carduchi—who made a wine of barley—alone, of all the mountain tribes of India, were sorely troublesome to the Greeks, perpetually "harassing them in the rear," as a hint to go quickly out of their country.

The learned Richard Verstegan, however, in his "Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities" (1655), contends for the honour of the German race as the originators of ale; and certainly the Germans have always been a beer-drinking people. We will not, however, tarry with this learned

Theban, in order to convince him that beer is but an interloper and stranger in the land ; and that the Anglo-Saxon and Dane introduced drinking ale into their religious festivals, inasmuch as they believed that swallowing copious draughts thereof formed one of the chief felicities of their heroes in the Hall of Odin. Neither is it worth while to trouble ourselves with the curious inquiry whether Bosworth is right in his derivation of *eal*, ale, from the Saxon *ea*, water ; or Dr. Johnson in his of *eala*, from *elan*, to oil, kindle, light, set on fire, bake ; as also Richardson, Skinner, and Tooke, who give us “ ale from *elo*, the third personal singular indicative of *elan*, to kindle and inflame, applied to a strong beer, from its warming, heating quality, and to certain festivals, in which it was a principal promoter of mirth ;” since, whether they derive it from water or from fire, it is evident that these learned and ingenious etymologists,—equally with those chemists of our own day, who, for the good of their fellow-men, have benevolently turned their attention to the art of brewing,—are resolved to make their ale without malt.

“ The feast of Thor,” says another eminent authority, “ which was celebrated at the winter solstice, was called, as we know, *giol*, from *iol* or oil, which signifies *ale*, and is now corrupted into *yule*”—whence it is plain that the ‘yull’ for ale of the Northumbrian boor is not a corruption, but a purity. In the Chronicles (852), Ingulphus (p. 93-16), we find “ Wulfred scolde gife twa tunnan fulle platres ael, and ten mittan Waelsces ael :” “ Wulfred should give two tuns full of clear ale, and ten mittans or measures of Welsh ale.” Again, the Cotton MSS. (Tit. 6-101, p. 63) furnish us with the following specimen of the wisdom of one of our worthy Saxon ancestors, who, in answer to what we should have thought the rather unnecessary and by no means hospitable inquiry, “ Hwæt drincsthu ?” “ What drinkst thou ?” replies like a sensible man, as he surely was, “ Eala gif ic hæbbe oa, water gif ic ne hæbbe ealu :” “ Ale if I have it, or water if I have not ale,”—an extremity to which, for the honour of antiquity, we trust that worthy old Saxon was never reduced. Lastly, so far as concerns our Saxon monarchs, we find that ale is mentioned

as one of the liquors provided for the banquet of Edward the Confessor; and Harold is reported, by contemporary authorities, to have drank one mighty draught before going into the battle of Hastings.

John Taylor also gives us some curious prolusions on the origin and antiquities of ale, in a tract, printed in 1637, entitled "Drinke and Welcome; or, the famous Historie of the most Parte of Drinks in use now in the Kingdomes of Great Brittain and Ireland: with an especial declaration of the potency, vertue, and operation of our English Ale:" to which he adds "a description of all sorts of water, from the ocean sea to the tears of a woman," &c., acquainting us humorously that his worke was "compiled first in the High Dutch tongue, by the painfull and industrious Huldricke Von Speagil, a grammaticall Brewer of Lubeck, and now most learnedly enlarged, amplified, and translated into English Prose and Verse:—"

"Having gone thus farre, it remains that I speake something of what hath been and now is used by the English, as well since the Conquest, as in the time of the Brittaines, Saxons, and Danes, for the former-recited drinkes (Syder, Perry, Metheglin, Mead, Braggot, Pemperkin) are to this day confined to the principality, so as we enjoy them only by a statute called the courtesie of Wales. And to perfect my discourse in this I shall only induce them into two heads, viz., the unparalleled liquor called *Ale*, with his abstract *Beere*, whose antiquity amongst us sort of northern-pated fellows is, if not altogether contemptible, of very little esteem."

The worthy waterman next heroically attacks the Norman knight who, in Henry III.'s reign, with right chivalrous spirit, wrote some Latin verses against ale, which were never forgiven, and large abuse of whom abounds in "Panala," and other works. He treats his adversary after the fashion of the modern song, which describes the *post-mortem* examination of the body of John White, the teetotaller, "one cold night after coming from marketing," when the medical men report that

"His inside was nothing but tea leaves and snowballs."

"This fellow," he adds, "by the perpetual use of water (which was his accustomed drinke), fell into such convulsions and lethargick diseases, that he remained in opinion a dead man; however, the knowing physicians of that time, by the frequent and inward application of ale, not only recovered him to his pristine state of health, but also enabled him in body and braine for the future, that he became famous in his writings, which for the most part were afterwards spent with most aleoquent and aleaborate commendation of that admired and most superexcellent true brewage."

The "Whitsun Ales" of this period were famous; and who, indeed, can read the account of them without a sigh for the "good old days" of "merry England?" These Whitsun ales were derived from the *Agapai*, or love-feasts of the early Christians, and were so denominated from the churchwardens buying and also receiving as presents a large quantity of malt, which they brewed into beer, and sold out in the church or elsewhere. The profits, as well as those from sundry games,—there being no poor rates,—were given to the poor, for whom this was one mode of provision, according to the Christian rule that all festivities should be rendered innocent by alms. Aubrey thus describes a Whitsun ale:—"In every parish was a church-house, to which belonged spits, crocks, and other utensils for dressing provisions. Here the house-keepers met. The young people were there too, and had dancing, bowling, shooting at butts, &c., the ancients sitting gravely by and looking on." It seems, too, that a tree was erected by the church door, where a banner was placed, and maidens stood gathering contributions. An arbour, called Robin Hood's Bower, was also put up in the churchyard. The later Whitsun ales consisted of a lord or lady of the ale, a steward, sword-bearer, purse-bearer, mace-bearer, train-bearer, page, fool, and pipe and tabor men, with a company of young men and women, who danced in a barn.

"At this time," says Carew, in his topography of Cornwall, "the neighbouring parishes visit one another, and frankly spend their money together. The afternoons are consumed in such exercises as olde and yonge folk, having leysure, doe

accustomably weare out the time withall. When the feast is ended, the wardens yeeld in their accounts; and such money as exceedeth the disbursement is layed up in store, to defray any extraordinary charges arising in the parish, or imposed upon them for the good of the country or the prince's service; neither of which commonly gripe so much, but that somewhat still remayneth to cover the purse's bottom." Customs somewhat analogous are still observed in some agricultural districts.

Hollinshed, in his *Chronicles* (p. 226), speaking of the ale sold at fairs and wakes in the reign of Edward I., says of the people, "They will drink till they be red as cocks, and little wiser than their combs." Publicans, even in those days, adulterated their beer; and he mentions certain of the King's regulations to restrain alehouses, where they sold "headie ale and beere," brewed, it may be, with "wheat-flour" and the like in the summer season "to assist the process of fermentation," and sent in for the quick consumption of "neighbours" at wakes and festivals,—a practice not unfairly objected to by our sovereigns, considering that King John is said to have died from a surfeit of peaches and *new ale*.

Up to Queen Elizabeth's time we have ample records in the *Buttery Rolls* of many a noble house, where herrings, and beef, and ale formed the sound, substantial morning meal of ladies of rank and their families, when "nerves" were unknown, and "vapours" never heard of. Shakspeare and our earlier dramatists everywhere allude to this honest drink; and Mary Queen of Scots was solaced in her imprisonment, as is well known, by many a barrel of good Burton,—her Majesty having a Burton brewer appointed for that special purpose while at Tutbury Castle.

In the reign of the successor of Elizabeth, that whimsical writer, James Howell, "one of the clerks of his late Majesty's privy council," furnishes us, in his "*Epistolæ Howellianæ*" (book 2, letter 54), with a hint of the first general introduction of *beer*, when he says:—"In this island the old drinke was ale, noble ale, which, as I have heard a great foreign doctor affirm, there is no liquor that more increaseth the radical moisture, and preserves the natural heat, which are the two

pillars that support the life of man. But, since *beer hath popp'd* in among us, ale is thought to be much adulterated, and nothing so strong as Sir *John Oldcastle* and *Smug* the smith used to drink."

The same writer informs us, how, in 1622, "ale in England was accounted a most wholesome liquor by physicians in France;" for, in writing from Paris to his father after a serious attack of quiasy, he says:—"When I was indifferently well recovered, some of the doctors and chirurgeons that attended me gave me a visit; and among other things they fell into discourse of wines, which was the best, and so, by degrees, they fell upon other beverages. One doctor in the company, who had been in England, told me that we have a drink in England called ale, which he thought was the wholesomest liquor that could go into one's guts; for whereas the body of man is supported by two columns, viz., the natural heat and radical moisture, he said there is no drink cometh near to the preservation of the one and to the increase of the other than ale; for while the Englishmen drank only ale they were strong, brawny, able men, and could draw an arrow an ell long; but when they fell to wine and beer they are found to be much impaired in their strength and age. So the ale bore away the bell among the doctors."

In 1623 the Burton ale made itself known in London, as Darbie or Derby, from which town it used to reach London, as we find in a singular work published that year, entitled *Panala a la Catholica*, or a Compound Ale, which is a general purge and generous medicine for most infirmities incidental to the bodie of man—being familiar, safe, and convenient for all ages, sexes, and constitutions,—by William Folkingham; in which the writer, "a student of arts and medicine," argues in his first chapter that "ale is a wholesome drinke, contrary to most men's conceits;" and in his second, "that ale is a fit bodie and convenient liquor to imbibe and participate the qualities and vertues of ingredients by infusion." Folkingham insists on the necessity of proper skill, experience, and discretion in brewing, in the following quaint terms:—

"But let a neat huswife or canny ale-wright have the

handling of good ingredients, (sweet mault and wholesome water), and you shall see and will say, there is art in brewing (as in most actions), and that many more even of those, that ayme at brewing the best ale, doe yet for all their supposed dexteritie more miss the marke, than hit upon the mysterie; for you will then have a cup of nappie ale (right Darbie, not Dagger ale, though effectually animating), well boyled, defecated, and cleared, that it shall equall the best-brewed beer in transparence, please the most curious palatt with milde quicknesse of relish, quench the thirst, humect the inward part, helpe concoction and distribution of sweate, and, by its moderate penetration, much further the attractive power of the parts (especially being rectified with additement and vehiculum which the best alistra boyles with it; to wit, such a proportion of Hop as gives not any the least tact of bitterness to the palatt, after it grows drinkable), and, being free from all those former foule importations, doth by its succulence much nourish and corroborate the corporall and comfort the animall powers. It will be better than Beere for extenuated and spare bodies, and not hurtfull to the Cholericke, for that it excretes the Bilous humour; nor for the Phlegmatick, because it is not obstructive, and it may well suit with and be agreeable to the Sanguine by reason of its moderate heat and moisture; nor can it be incongruent to the Melancholicke, for that it dissipates and spends fuliginous fumositie and exhilerates the spirits.

"Such a cup of pure comfort (not *lanted* nor gummed) find many good fellows that walk or (ere) they wash for their morning draught of true Darbie."

"The Dagger Ale" here alluded to was that sold at a house in Holborn, in the same manner as the ale of Burton was, about the same period, at the Peacock in Gray's Inn Lane. The Dagger was for many years a celebrated ordinary and public-house. It was frequented in the day like most places of the kind by the better class, but at night was the resort of low gamblers and cozeners.

"My lawyer's clerke I lighted on last night
In Holborn, at The Dagger."

Ben Jonson—Alchymist, Act I. s. 1.

The pies, the furmety, and other dainties provided for the guests at "The Dagger," were in high repute—"a Dagger pie" was always spoken of with much relish; but the ale here drawn was especially celebrated for its strength:—

"This thy description of Dagger ale augmenteth my thirst until I taste thereof."—*Ulp. Fuhwell, Art of Fl.* 8.

"Sack makes men from words
Fall to drawing of swords,
And quarrelling endeth their quaffing;
Whilst Dagger ale barrels
Bear off many quarrels,
And often turn chiding to laughing."

"*Ale against Sack,*" in "*Wit's Recreation.*"

"But we must have March bere, dooble, dooble beere, Dagger ale, Rhenish."—*Decker Satiromastix.*

One of the songs of this period has reached us. The reader will find it in "The London Chanticleers"—a sort of play, printed in 1659, but referred by the learned in such matters to an earlier date:—

"Submit, bunch of grapes, to the strong barley ear;
The weak wine no longer the laurel shall wear.
Sack, and all drinks else, desist from the strife—
Ale's the true aquavitæ and liquor of life.
Then come, my boon fellows, let's drink it around;
It keeps us from grave, though it lays us on ground.

"Ale's a physician; no mountebank bragger;
Can cure the chill ague, though it be with the stagger.
Ale's a strong wrestler—flings all it hath met;
And makes the ground slippery, though it be not wet.

"Ale is both Ceres and good Neptune too;
Ale's froth was the sea from which Venus grew.
Ale is immortal; and be there no stops
In bonny lads quaffing, can live without hops.*
Then come, my boon fellows, let's drink it around;
It keeps us from grave, though it lays us on ground."

In 1630, Thomas Randal—a learned and witty member of Trinity College, Cambridge—alludes, in a singularly humorous

* The earliest ale was made without hops.

tract, now very rare, entitled "Aristippus, or the Jovial Philosopher," to the invasion of wine upon the province of good old English ale at the University. In his account of this contest between the two kinds of beverages, which he happily makes to turn upon the then vexed question of the old and new system of philosophy, he introduces a well-known Cambridge tapster, one "Wildman," as thus angrily discoursing:—

"Is this an age to be in a man's right wits, when the lawful use of the throat is so much neglected, and Strong Drink lies sicke on his death-bed? 'Tis above the patience of a Malt-horse to see the contempt of Barley, and not run mad upon 't! Now a Divill or two take his red-nosed Philosophy! 'Tis he, my Beere, that has bowed thee to his vinegar bottle. But I'll be revenged. If he was not either sent here from the Brèche Politique, or be not employed by Spinola to reduce the king's lawful subjects from their allegiance to strong Beere, let me hold up my hand at the Bar, and be hanged at my own Signe-Post."

In 1637, Taylor's "Drinke and Welcome," quoted above, furnishes us with a passage in which the ales in vogue at that period are alluded to:—

"I should be voluminous if I should insist upon all pertinent and impertinent passages in the behalf of ale, as also the retentive fame that *Yorke, Chester, Hull* (Burton), *Nottingham, Darby* (Burton), *Gravesend*, with a Toaste, and other countries still enjoy, by making this untainted liquor in the primitive way; and how *Windsor* doth more glory in that composition than all the rest of the speculative pleasures; also there is a town near Margate, in Kent (in the Isle of Thanet), called Northdowne, which town hath ingrosted much fame, wealth, and reputation, from the prevalent potencie of their attractive ale."

The worthy and witty John had tested the "potencie" of all these ales in their native places, having actually rowed in a wherry from London to York,—down the Thames, round the Norfolk coast, up the Humber, and up the Trent!

In Charles I.'s reign there was much drinking of ale; for the High Church and the Cavalier party were men of the true

English breed. Nor were their opponents behind; for Prymæ, as Anthony à Wood assures us, was somewhat of William à Wykeham's way of thinking, who

"Mysterious and prophetic truths
He never could unfold 'em,
Without a flagon of good ale,
And a slice of cold ham!"

Says Anthony à Wood, "William Prymæ, sharp as was his pen and sour his wit, was always 'put into the road of writing' by ale, nor was it until after 'his manchet and his quart of ale' that he could set about the composition of the famous 'Comfortable Cordials against Discomfortable Fears of Imprisonment; containing some Latin Verses, and Sentences and Texts of Scripture, written by William Prymæ' (with charcoal) 'on his Chamber-walls in the Tower of London, during his imprisonment there.'"

From this period, throughout the Civil War, there was great time for much drinking of ale, and but little leisure for praising it; though when the Lord General's troopers were in and about Burton, it was found no small difficulty to restrain them from enjoying the good ale to be there met with in plenty, as we learn by an extract from the MS. journal of "The Committee of Stafford:"—

"Orders of the Committee of divers punishments for the soldiers not going to church. For swearing:—That whoever shall swear, for the first offence, shall forfeit 4d.; for the second, ride the horse with a paper on his backe declaring his offence; and for the third, to be bored through the tongue, and casheard, according to the Lord General's order; and the officers to pay 12d. for an oath; that whosoever shall be drunke shall forthwith be committed, and have nothing but bread and water for 24 hours; on the second offence, to ride with two flagons or pots at his backe; and for the third offence, to be casheard as a wicked and common wretch."

Throughout the dull ages of the Commonwealth, though there was a good draught of ale to be had at the "Black Jacke" in Portugal Street, Lincoln's-Inn Fields (an old Cavalier house

still subsisting), or among the sleek Roundheads, who associated with the cozy villagers of St. Giles at the "Leather Bottle," in what is now called Great Queen Street,—although, too, there was still some strong ale, as there were stout and loyal hearts, in the country districts, yet the voice of wit and the song of the muse were hushed on its merits. With the Restoration came French fashions and French wines; but nevertheless good ale still held its own; and in the latter part of the reign of James II., we catch in "Poor Robin's Almanac" for 1676 a slight insight into the general cultivation of ale, and the appreciation of its enjoyments in and about London:—

"At Islington a fair they hold,
Where cakes and ale are to be sold.
Highgate and at Holloway,
The like is kept here every day.
At Totnam Court, and Kentish Town,
And all those places up and down."

As William the Norman brought over the wines of France, so to William of Orange are we indebted for the introduction of gin, with which he and his "madam," and his Dutch minister, were wont to muddle themselves at St. James's; nevertheless, it was at this period that some of our best songs in praise of ale were written—among others, that one erst so popular in Nottinghamshire, in which the sentiment occurs:—

"The beggar who begs without any legs,
And scarcely a rag to cover her tail,
Talks of princes, and kings, and all such fine things,
When once she shakes hands with a tankard of ale."

In 1691, Thomas Tryon, the amiable natural philosopher, published "A New Art of Brewing," in which, after much painstaking in his directions for brewing fine ale—for which he specially recommends, upon philosophical principles (singularly expressed)—that the water should not be applied in a boiling state to the malt, he incidentally alludes, in the following manner, to the necessity for a proper examination into the qualities of water used for brewing purposes. Thomas Tryon,

by-the-bye, is the first writer, with the exception of Folkingham, who touches on a point that bears so strongly on the remarkable ale whose manufacture we are about specially to notice.

"Water," he observes, "is more strong and sublime than most imagine; for it contains a most nourishing and excellent sweet virtue, whence proceeds the pure, friendly, refreshing quality, whereby it hath power, by its innate virtue, to delight and purify all sorts of food."

How pleasant Grose's description of an independent gentleman in the reign of Queen Anne:—

"His chief drinke the year round was generally ale, except at this season (the 5th of November), or some other gala days, when he would make a bowl of strong brandy punch, garnished with a toast and nutmeg. In the corner of his hall, by the fireside, stood a large wooden two-armed chair, with a cushion, and within the chimney-corner were a couple of seats. Here at Christmas he entertained his tenants, assembled round a glowing fire, made of the roots of trees and other great logs, and told and heard the traditionary tales of the village, respecting ghosts and witches, till fear made them afraid to move. In the meantime the jorum of ale was continually circulating."

Addison, as we know, in this reign, would retire from the glories of Holland House, and the society of his countess, to smoke his pipe and drink his cool tankard in the little alehouse at the corner of the lane; and Carey at this period, in one of the sweetest of our English ballads, celebrates, among the enjoyments of Sunday, the drinking ale at Sadler's Wells along with "Sally in our Alley."

The witty Farquhar, writing in 1707, furnishes us, in the opening scene of his "Beaux Stratagem," with a happy allusion to these famous ales of Staffordshire, of which the ales then brewed at Burton, by the predecessors of the present firm of Allsopp and Sons, bore the pre-eminence:—

"*Boniface.* Sir, I have now in my cellar ten tun of the best ale in Staffordshire; 'tis smooth as oil, sweet as milk, clear as amber, and strong as brandy, and will be just fourteen years old the fifth day of next March, old style.

"*Aimwell.* You're very exact, I find, in the age of your ale.

"*Boniface.* As punctual, sir, as I am in the age of my children. I'll show you such ale! Here, tapster, broach number 1706, as the saying is. Sir, you shall taste my *Anno Domini*. I have lived in Lichfield, man and boy, above eight-and-fifty years, and I believe I have not consumed eight-and-fifty ounces of meat.

"*Aimwell.* At a meal, you mean, if one may guess your sense by your bulk.

"*Boniface.* Not in my life, sir. I have fed purely upon ale; I have eat my ale, drank my ale, and always sleep upon ale.

[*Enter Tapster with a bottle and glass, and exit.*]

"Now, sir, you shall see! [*Pours out a glass.*] Your worship's health. Ha! delicious—delicious! Fancy it Burguandy—only fancy it—and 'tis worth ten shillings a quart!

"*Aimwell.* [*Drinks.*] 'Tis confounded strong!

"*Boniface.* Strong! It must be so, or how should we be strong that drink it?"

Beaux Stratagem, Act I. Scene 1.

We have now arrived so near that period when the history of Burton ale becomes the future history of ale in England—and indeed of the whole world—that it will be unnecessary to adduce further authorities upon the subject. We must, therefore, devote a short chapter to the history of Burton itself, and the golden Vale of Trent,—the source whence flows this generous ale to every quarter of the habitable globe. But before leaving the poets, another last and lingering word, oh reader! We have freely stated our views of things in general; and if any dull and matter-of-fact utilitarian should deem them irrelevant to our subject matter, we beg, in all due deference, to assure him there is a method in our madness, and that our remarks will bear a moral which he who runs may read. We have freely stated our views upon the subject of stimulation, and we marvel not that the aborigines of all nations, impelled by intuition, succeeded in discovering some form of stimulating drink. It is a pleasant tradition that Bacchus, after his education by the Nysæan nymphs, traversed the whole globe, diffusing refinement with the introduction of the vine and the hop. What better nourishment could Odin himself have quaffed? "I am full of joy," cried Ragner, the last Scandinavian king—"I am full of joy when I think of the banquet preparing for

me in the palace of the Gods. I am going to be placed in the highest seat—there to quaff goblets of beer with the Gods; I will die laughing.” And who would not rather be a laughing than a weeping philosopher?

We have briefly shown what the poets and wits and chroniclers of old thought of ale, thick and potential as to them it was—for no bitter beer cheered their dark and benighted days,—and we may well conclude our chapter with a few examples of what has been sung of ale in modern times by those whose happy lot it is to appreciate our national and inspiring drink. We will, however, altogether exclude those low and ribald jests which, in rude and obscure rhymes, have emanated from the grovelling minds of the discontented.

And first the hop itself has given rise to many a strain that can never die. Commerce presents itself in no aspect more beautiful than the hop-field; and nothing is more pleasant than to wander amid its verdant and richly-scented alleys—

When the plants are laden with beautiful bloom,
And the air breathes around us its rich perfume;
And the village reapers exultingly come
To gather the fruits of their harvest home.
More graceful the hop than the far-fam'd vine,
More tenderly, too, doth its tendrils twine;
And there, like the spirit of all sweet flowers,
The peasant girl glides through its fairy bowers.

And far and near,
With accent clear,
The hop-picker's song salutes the glad ear;
The old and the young
Unite in the throng,

And echo re-echoes their jocund song.
The hop-picking time is a time of glee,
So merrily, merrily now sing we;
For the bloom of the hop is the secret spell
Of the bright pale ale that we love so well;
So gather it quickly, with tender care,
And off to the waggons the treasure bear.

But a tyrannous legislature, more blasting and withering than the cold north wind, has laid a heavy tax on this, one of the most healthful of the products of fair Nature. Hard does

it appear that the peasant's garden may not produce the luxuriant hop; that he may not malt his barley, and brew, untaxed, his beer; that therefore he is driven to the public-house: for the great brewers will not sell in small quantities, nor, except in the metropolis, will they open houses for retailing their manufacture. Well has "Diogenes," emerging from his tub, sung upon the poor man's grief. Canst thou, reader, refuse to sympathise with the following plaintive dialogue?

"The Minister's tax
On the housekeepers' backs
Was a sell and a shame severe;
And their Tea be blowed!
But they certainly showed
Some very good notions on beer.
For we likes a drop of good beer,
And it's hard to get at—that's clear;
So many combines,
In their various lines,
To rob a poor man of his beer.

"Says Jerry to me,
'Tother day, says he,
'There's a werry good shop round here.'
'Jerry,' says I,
'My whistle is dry;
I wote as we has some beer.'
So says we—'A pot of good beer;'—
But they draw'd us summut so queer,
That a cove no more
Could ha' bolted a door,
Than swallow'd such stuff for beer.

"'Landlord!' says I,
With a face all wry,
'What do you call this here?'
'Gents,' says he,
'It's a pot of what we
Serve out as the werry best beer.
But it's hard to get at good beer,
For the brewer sells it so dear;
And the rents is so high,
That'—'In fact,' says I,
'You rob a poor man of his beer.'

"Says Jerry to me,
 'We must live;' says he,
 'To make the expenses clear!
 They doctor it up,
 So I vote for a cup
 Of summut instead of the beer.
 For anything's better than beer.'
 'Jerry,' says I, 'hear, hear!'
 So a quartern we had,
 And it wasn't so bad,
 As it took off the taste of the beer.

"Jerry and me
 Got making free;
 Both on us got very queer;
 Which neither a one
 Would ever ha' done
 If they'd given us wholesome beer.
 For the want of a drop of good beer
 Drives lots to tipples more dear;
 And they licks their wives,
 And destroys their lives,
 Which they wouldn't ha' done upon beer."

There is much philosophy in this humorous and clever lyric, the moral of which is—that the adulteration of any of the necessities or luxuries of life has physically an unhealthy, and mentally demoralizing effect. To meet his expenses, the unjust publican adulterates his beer; and the mechanic, when he finds it unpalatable, or, in more vernacular language, "summut so queer," that he cannot relish it, takes to gin, which soon deadens the power of thought, excites the passions, and prompts to acts of brutal violence. Hence we may understand how

"The want of a drop of good beer
 Drives lots to tipples more dear;
 And they licks their wives,
 And destroys their lives,
 Which they wouldn't have done upon beer."

It is as philanthropists and sanitary reformers that we would urge the repeal of the duties upon beer, and allow every man to malt his own barley and grow his own hops; and if he will brew his own beverage, to be able to do so at a

moderate cost. A reduction in the price of beer has been loudly called for by the public press, and more particularly on the occasion of the proposal by Mr. Disraeli to repeal one half of its duties. The avowed object of these reductions was to benefit the agricultural interest and the consumer—the one by an assumed increased demand, and the other by a decreased price. It seems ungracious to require more when so much was offered; but assuredly neither of the proposed objects would have been gained, unless the duties were *totally* repealed,—a boon to which the agriculturist and the public in general have an undoubted right.

It is a question whether the public were ever better served, by the manufacturers of malt liquor, than at present. It is true that, although of late years the price of barley has much decreased, no commensurate effect has occurred in the price of beer. The fact, however, is, that what has been gained in the price of barley has been thrown into the quality of the beer, which has greatly improved, and been made a most healthy and nutritious beverage. Now, if the price of malt liquor were to be reduced much below the amount of the duty, a depreciation in the quality must necessarily follow; for it must be remembered that, to give the public the benefit of one penny per quart, the reduction in the price of beer must be twelve shillings per barrel. Now the whole of the malt duty does not amount to seven shillings per barrel; and Mr. Disraeli's proposal was to reduce this to one-half, or about three shillings and sixpence. To this the brewer would probably add, from his own profits, a farther reduction of two shillings and sixpence a barrel; making the whole six shillings per barrel cheaper, or one halfpenny per quart. This, however, would not be an appreciable reduction to the public generally; inasmuch as we have no coin to represent the corresponding reduction, which in the half-pint of beer would be half-a-farthing.

It would be utterly impossible for the licensed victualler to reduce his share of profit; since on porter it is now generally admitted to be not more than four shillings a barrel above the cost price, to cover the expense of rent, furniture,

fire, servants, rates, taxes, and insurance. Whence, then, must come such a reduction in the price of beer as will benefit the public in general, and, by also increasing the demand for barley, to benefit the agricultural interest? Certainly not by lowering the quality of the manufacture. It can only be done by entirely abolishing the tax, and the exciseman with it. The duty upon hops is also minutely fractional as regards the price of a quart of beer. If the whole duty, however, were removed, the cost would be materially affected by the larger supply which would come into the market. Without the tender vigilance of the exciseman, every cottage gardener would grow hops for sale. Small plots and patches would be cultivated, and the hop-merchant collect the growth. As it is, the exciseman is a partner with whom to carry on business a large capital is required; and the poor man is therefore precluded from procuring that which his occupancy of land entitles him to do, provided his ground be suitable.

Much has lately been said upon the "bottle question;" a "trick" of which the brewers generally, but particularly the Burton brewers, are as innocent as Mr. Disraeli himself. The Burton brewers sell their ale in casks; the bottling is a separate trade, and conducted by other parties, over whom the former have no control. This "grievance" can only be remedied by an *imperial measure*—that is, a legislative enactment.

But we love the poets better than the Parliament, and prefer a discussion on sanitary reform to all the dry details of political economy. To give the poor and scantily fed labourer his modicum of good and wholesome beer, we would rather the duties upon wine and spirits were trebled, and the villainous compounds of the gin-shop utterly precluded from his reach. We are not of those who

"Compound for sins they have a mind to,
By damning those they're not inclined to;"

but we would earnestly impress upon the Legislature, that every man is a benefactor to his race who advocates purity in all things,—whether in thought or in feeling, in eating or in drinking. The sunbeam, taken as a type of truth, never can

be chilled; and the deeper it penetrates into the human heart, the more will it illumine and purify its most secret recesses.

The art of adulteration was little known of old; and we have seen how the poets of our forefathers apostrophized their ale. It is only of late that again they have attuned their lyres; and, even could we adduce no better reason than this, we owe a debt of gratitude to the Burton brewers, for introducing a pure and wholesome beverage, which threatens to expel from the length and breadth of the land the noxious and the nasty compounds, under whose narcotic influences song itself has perished.

But that "inspiring bold John Barleycorn" has at length regained his divine aura, cannot be better testified than by the following modern ballad, which reveals the initiation of the youthful mind into the mysteries of pale ale. The reader will not fail to observe with what tact Wordsworth himself has been pressed into the service, and how a verse from his "Lyrical Ballads" has been made to typify the whole. To assist the imagination, we venture to add a running commentary:—

"My heart leaps up when I behold
 So was it when my life began;
 So is it now I am a man;
 So be it when I shall grow old—
 The child's the father of the man."

The boy thirsts intuitively after drink, and the mother expostulates.

"What shall I drink? what shall I drink?

Mother! oh, mother! think! oh, think!

Or else at thy feet in a swoon I sink!"

"Oh, naughty boy! oh, naughty boy!

Once thy mother's dearest joy,

And now her great—her sole alloy;

For wherever you go,

Right well you know,

You're always a plaguing your mother so."

The boy persists, and his mother evinces signs of tenderness; she becomes pleonastic, and commits a solecism.

"What can I drink? away with coffee! away with tea!

And as for water, 'tis fiddle-dee-dee.

What is in the cupboard?—oh, mother, see!"

"I scarce can reply—
 There's a tear in my eye—
 You'll kill yourself, Tom! and then you will die!
 And your father will say,
 'Oh, lack-a-day!
 Why did you let the dear boy have his way?'"

The boy protests his aversion to strong drinks, and refers to the horrible end of a London brewer.

"Mother! oh, mother! I have all along
 Abstained from drinking anything strong,—
 Gin, whisky, and brandy, I know are wrong;
 And porter, too,
 For 'tis certainly true,
 That at Barclay and Perkins, in cleaning a vat,
 The bones of a man
 Were found in a pan,—
 A brewer dissolved in his beer,—think of that!"

The mother becoming mollified, reveals a secret, and light enters the soul of the boy.

"Well, boys will be boys, and men be men,"
 Answered the mother, affected then.
 "Oh, Tom, let me think!—yes! just by the nail
 On the cupboard's top shelf—
 I drink it myself—
 You'll find a pint bottle of Allsopp's ale!"
 Tom shouted with glee,
 And jumped up to see,
 And grasping a bottle, cried, "Here! joy's me!"

The boy is initiated. Having passed into manhood, he delights in the reminiscences of his early days; and Allsopp's ale comforts his old age.

The cork then they drew, which out quickly flew—
 Ah! well the bright liquid the mother knew;
 And the little boy tasted, and learned it too.
 And ever since then,
 When he mingles with men,
 He recites to them, laughing, his boyhood's tale:—
 "Twas thus by my mother
 I learned to discover
 The pleasures and glories of Allsopp's ale:
 In my beardless days my taste began;
 I am burden'd with years, but a draught from that can
 Seems to make me a better and happier man."

The great bitter beer controversy called forth several poets, like so many frogs in a storm, each thirsting for "wet to his whistle." We select from one of these:—

I.

What can avail like the fine old ale,
The heart's best blood renewing?
But such good cheer must come from the beer—
The beer of Burton brewing.

II.

Some croaking folks declared as a hoax,
'Tis poison up to the brink;
But, strange to say, these doctors alway
Dive deep in the self-same drink.

III.

A terrible tale, from Java's vale,
Some trav'lers love to repeat:—
An upas tree, they say, you may see,
Pois'ning that dreary retreat.

IV.

The air, and the ground, and all around
Are wrapp'd in the arms of death;
And beasts of prey, and the birds, they say,
Drop dead at its slightest breath.

V.

And the chemist's skill, it doth distil
Death-drops from this deadly tree:
'Tis strychnine! they cry; 'and all will die,
Who drink pale ale merrilie.

VI.

'Tis that doth impart the flavour tart
Found alone in Burton beer;
Oh! let it not pass; there's death in the glass,
Tho' it sparkles bright and clear.'

VII.

'Silence, good folks! don't play off your jokes;
Prithee, be just and explain
How years go by, and men do not die
Who drink it, and drink again.

VIII.

'Take common sense! let science go hence!
I'm old, yet ne'er will I fail
To drink while I may,—night, noon, and day,—
A bumper of Burton ale!'

CHAPTER IV.

BURTON.

"Nor rough nor barren are the winding ways
Of hoar antiquity—but strew'd with flowers."

PLEASANTLY upon the "smug and silver Trent" lies Burton. Placed in a rich and fertile valley of the eastern border of Staffordshire, it is one hundred and twenty-five miles from London, and whence it is easily reached in four hours by the railway. On either side, it is set amid gently-rising hills clad with luxuriant wood. Before it lies a wide champaign, through whose fertile fields and verdant meadows flows the graceful river, like a mighty serpent glistening in its silver folds. Approaching from the old London road, we have the smiling valley at our feet, and the town upon our left, with its church-spires and tall chimneys pointing hopefully towards the sky. We are standing upon the bridge—an ancient edifice of thirty-six arches, extending nearly a quarter of a mile across the valley, where the first swell of the hills of Derbyshire rise gently to the peaks. The winding river creeps placidly below us—to glide on one side tranquilly upon its course; on the other to foam and fret into a white and sparkling sheet of foam, and leap the pent-up mill-dam. From the town a busy hum

arises; the creak of wheels, and sound of hammers, tell of busy occupation. We see little armies of men diligently employed rolling barrels from lofty warehouses down the long yards of the brewhouses, and loading them upon carts; others, again, are adding pile to pile of buildings already approximating to the magnitude of a small town. Fat and sleek horses, too, with their white frontlets; and rosy carters, with their jovial and contented faces, fill in the scene. All tells of animation,—of cheerful, eager industry; while the contrast between either side of the river reminds the gazer of Lord Chatham's remark, that "Trade increases the wealth and glory of a country; but its real strength and stamina are to be looked for among the cultivators of the land. In their simplicity of life is found the simpleness of virtue—the integrity and courage of freedom. These true genuine souls of the earth are invincible; and they surround and hem in the mercantile bodies—even if these bodies, which supposition I totally disclaim, could be disaffected to the cause of liberty."

Such, however, is not the relation of Burton-upon-Trent, in Staffordshire, to its opposite neighbour of Derbyshire. They are daughters of the same mother, Ceres; and the former works but as the handmaiden to utilize and fructify the golden labours of the other—the neat-handed Phillis to dress and spread out the dainties which her sister provides. Between interests so mutual all is peace and harmony. Their co-existence, and working well together, are the comfort and enjoyment of millions.

We will not linger upon our road. Burton as it is, with the exception of its breweries, is so inferior to Burton as it was, that we must merge the present in the past.

First, then, the town stands upon the "Icknield Street," or old Roman road; the tedious learning about which we may as well spare our readers—for Stretton, which Dr. Plot tells us was one of those "stations" or "mansions" placed on the Roman roads for the safe repose of their armies at night, and answering to the Wall and Stretton of the Roman Watling Street, contains no vestige of antiquity; but is a small tranquil village, snugly reposing on the side of a gentle eminence over-

looking the valleys of the Trent and Dove, and near to Dove Cliff, where the Grand Trunk Canal, to the glory of Brindley, and the discomfiture of the self-sufficient Committee of the Trent Navigation, passes over the river Dove, on a substantial aqueduct of twenty-three arches.

Burton contains the usual amount of churches and dissenting chapels, old women of either sex, plodding tradesmen, and busy mechanics. But only one of its churches, St. Modwen, or the parent church, has any claim to antiquity, and that only from being erected upon the site of the church dedicated to St. Modwen. It has schools and charities; natural history and literary societies; a self-supporting dispensary; three hotels; and about ten thousand inhabitants. Its streets, quite insufficient for its trade, are tolerably well paved and lighted. It has three railways and a canal, which facilitate its communication with all parts of the kingdom.

The bridge of Burton-upon-Trent is its greatest pride and proudest antiquity. The origin of this structure is lost in remote ages. There is reason, however, to believe that it existed before the Conquest, and that it was repaired in the reign of Henry II., 1175. When it is considered that this bridge was for many centuries the only means of communication for foot or horse passengers between the counties of Derby and Stafford (except the stepping-stones and ferry at Stapenhill, and the one above at Walton), it can easily be conceived how the cares of the pious, and the alms of the charitable, were readily devoted to its reparation. This was the task of the abbot and brethren of St. Benedict, who occupied a noble abbey, which stood just below where now the churchyard of St. Modwen's—then the Abbey Church—slopes down to the water's edge, and where many a good-natured epitaph, and record of long life, tells the tale of the salutary effects of Burton air, and Burton ale, and the kindly disposition of its people.

So long as the good old monks, and the people themselves, had the care of this bridge, it was well kept; but when, at the dissolution of the monasteries, the grant of the abbey land was made to Sir William Paget, the king's secretary, with the injunction to keep the bridge in repair, he took the land and

passed over this and many other duties which he owed to poor and rich, to tenant and to traveller. The bridge still remains as it was—a narrow causeway, originally intended but for pedlars and packhorses. It has gradually been widened, or built out from the old piers; but is still dangerous, and in a state disgraceful to those who, as the successors of Sir William Paget, are bound, “at all times in future,” to keep it in a state suitable to the necessities of the neighbourhood, and for the “comfortte of travellyn peple.”

As we look down once more from this old bridge, King Alfred rises in the picture before us—his memory hovers round this green spot; for here his nurse (herself a saint) lies buried; and hither, to her wonder-working well, did pilgrims of all climes through many ages resort. It is in the ninth century that the Saxon Byretum comes forward into history as a town; and we receive from Holinshed the following traditional account:—

“In this season (the reign of King Ethelwolfe) one Modwen, a virgine in Ireland, was greatly renowned in the world, unto whome the forenamed King Ethelwolfe sent his sonne Alfred to be cured of a disease that was thought incurable, but by hir means he recovered health; and therefore, when hir monasterie was destroied in Ireland, Modwen came over into England, unto whom King Ethelwolfe gave land to build two abbies, and also delivered unto her his sister Edith, to be professed a nun. Modwen hereupon built two monasteries, one at Poulesworth, joining to the banks of Ardene, wherein she placed the aforesaid Edith, with Osith and Athea; the other, whether it was a monasterie or cell, she founded in Strenshall, or Trent-sall, where she herselfe remained solitarie a certain time in praier, and other vertuous exercises. And (as it is reported) she went thrice to Rome, and finally died, being 130 yeares of age. Hir bodie was first buried in an iland, compassed about with the river of Trent, called Andresey, taking that name of a church or chapel of St. Andrew, which she had built in the same iland, and dwelled therein for the space of seven yeares. Manie monasteries she builded, both in England (as partlie above is mentioned), and also in Scotland—as at Striveling,

Edenborough — and in Ireland, at Celestine and elsewhere.” *

The island, or rather the meadow, just below, now known as Annesley, which the Trent encompasseth with loving arms, was, in the days of this pious virgin, called Andrewsey. Up to the sixteenth century, when monasteries were dissolved, and religion changed, the people of Burton preserved a grateful memory of this saint, the name of Modwen frequently appearing in the registry as a female designation. In the next century, the celebrity of St. Modwen (to whose holy well thousands of Saxon pilgrims resorted) so affected the not very tender conscience of Wulfric or Ulric Spot, the Earl of Mercia of that period, that he founded an abbey at Burton. The “Book of Abingdon” tells us that “a servant of King Ethelred (the Unready), named Ullfric Spot, built the abbey at Burton, and gave it all his paternal estate, value £700. In this monastery Modwen, whose sanctity was renowned in these parts, was buried.”

The estates thus bequeathed were in Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Notts, Derbyshire, Shropshire, and Yorkshire. So large was this grant, that Wulfric gave to the king “two hundred marks in gold, two silver-hilted swords, and six horses and armour,” for the confirmation of his will, which took place in Wales with the most impressive ceremonies, the signatures appended to the charter of confirmation being those of the King Ethelred, his sons Athelstan, Egbert, Edmund, Cedric, and Edgar, two archbishops, ten bishops, twelve abbots, three dukes, and twenth-one thanes.

After the gallant stand which was made against William the Conqueror by Edwy Mercar, the grandsons of Leofric and the Lady Godiva, and the last Earls of Mercia (in which the Norman king appeared at one time likely, by the junction of the great Northumbrian lords, and the arrival of a Danish

* Her epitaph from Camden is thus rendered by Shaw :—

“Ireland gave Modwen birth—England a grave;
Scotland her end—God her salvation gave.
Life gives the first; her death the third earth gives;
The second earth her earthly part receives.
Lanfortin takes whom chief Tyrconnel owns,
And favour'd Burton keeps the virgin's bones.”

reinforcement, to be driven again across the channel—an episode in the history of the period passed over too slightly by historians), the lands round Burton, forming the estates of that great family, passed into the hands of the Conqueror's favourite, Henry de Ferrarys. Those of the abbey, however, escaped, and the monks received, moreover, additional benefactions. We hear of them through the next centuries, down to the destruction of the monasteries in the reign of Henry VIII., only as excellent landlords to their tenantry, and improvers of the town near which they were located; nor in the long roll of the thirty-five abbots from Walgetus, the monk of Winchester, the first abbot, in 1004, to Richard Edys, the last abbot, who surrendered the abbey at the dissolution on the 4th of November, 1540, do we find but three mentioned with discredit; one of whom, "Lewricus, spoiled the rich shrine of St. Modwen to feed the poor, because there was then a great famine, for which the Lord took revenge, as the miracles of the said virgin set forth;" another, Geoffrey de Malaterra, was expelled for misapplying the conventual revenues; and the third, Robert de Winchester, was also expelled for the same offence.

A massive gateway, a ruined lodge (now a blacksmith's shop), the outlines of an ancient window contained in a villa-restoration of what was once the abbot's house, and some garden walls, are all that remain of the stately Abbey of Burton-on-Trent. The tithes, indeed, still exist; every toll and possible exaction is perpetrated; every fine has been sedulously garnered, although the rent-value of these estates in the vicinity of Burton has grown to a shilling a yard per annum. In the "Rental of Sir William Paget" made in the reign of Edward IV., the clear income of these estates is set down as £130 per annum, and the mills called Burton Mills are "let to John Tove at £26 per annum;" the rent having thus improved to about sixty times its value in the five centuries that had elapsed since their first rating in Domesday Book. "The tithes," says Dr. Shaw, in his "History of Staffordshire," "are now worth £1500 per annum. And the Burton estates altogether, if the houses in the town were let to the best advantage, and not on leases

for lives, as at present, would produce a clear rental of £10,000." This was written in 1796. So late as 1830 the Burton estates were set down as worth £20,000 a-year, and every year is adding to their value; so largely has the wealth of the town increased with the brewing interest.

The traveller who has paused with us on the bridge must now imagine a lapse of three centuries between the pious foundation of the Abbey by Wulfric and another busy scene on the green margin of the river flowing softly from the south towards him. We have now before us the first episode of the wars of the house of York and Lancaster, known in history as the "Battle of Burton Bridge," fought in 1320 between the forces of King Edward II. and those of the Barons, headed by Thomas Earl of Lancaster, who, having formed an alliance with the King of Scotland, who had promised to assist him with an army, thought himself strong enough to take up arms against his sovereign.

Our space will not permit us to detail the particulars of this memorable engagement; we refer the curious reader, therefore, to Sir Oswald Mosley's admirable account of it, and accurate description of the bridge in his "History of Tutbury."* Suffice it to say, that Edward was victorious, the Earl signally defeated, and the Scottish king forced to retreat; and such was the alarm and confusion that attended the passage of the river Dove, below the town, that the military chest, containing a large quantity of coin, was lost. It fell into the river; and, as no one who was aware of the fact returned to recover the treasure, successive floods soon deposited above it a deep bed of sand and gravel. After a lapse of five centuries, according to Sir Oswald Mosley, upwards of three hundred thousand of the coins which the chest contained were, in the month of June 1831, recovered from the bed of the river by the astonished inhabitants of Tut-

* Tutbury, now a village, but formerly a market town, is beautifully situated on the banks of the Dove, five miles north-west of Burton. Tutbury Castle was then the seat of the Earl of Lancaster, who forfeited it to the Crown, from whence it passed again into the possession of

"Old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster,"

who rebuilt it again to be forfeited to the Crown; afterwards to become the prison of Queen Mary of Scotland; and now a noble and still majestic ruin.

bury and its vicinity. So great was the excitement occasioned by these "gold-diggings" that the Government found it necessary to despatch a small detachment of troops to preserve order.

From the time of the battle, March, 1320, to the dissolution of the monasteries, in 1540, Burton-upon-Trent figures little in history. Queen Mary of Scotland passed through it in 1586 on her way from Chartley to Fotheringay, and King James I. on his way from Scotland; and some idea of the appearance of the vicinity about 1593 and 1603, is to be gathered from Sampson Erdeswicke's note upon it in his "Survey of Staffordshire," written at that period, wherein he says, "Trent being now the meer between Staffordshire and Derbyshire, receiveth no beautification on Staffordshire side, as following the wild forests of Needwood." This forest, which once contained nearly 10,000 acres of land, and extended seven miles in length and three in breadth, is now stripped of its glories, having been gradually encroached upon, and finally disforested in 1801, and enclosed in 1811. Again, after describing the decayed abbey church—"which seems to have been a very goodly one, for the ruins be very large"—and a certain monument, erroneously said to be that of the founder, Wulfrius Spot, Erdeswicke continues:—"A mile before Trent comes to Burton there enters into it a little brook coming out of Needwood; but there is nothing upon it worth noting, except a man should account Tatenil for a beauty, whereof I never heard any man make great account, except Thomas Leeson, a poor priest that was parson of Packington, in Leicestershire, and was born there." Erdeswicke was no admirer of the natural beauties of scenery, for which the whole valley of the Trent is so famous; but rather of ancient stocks and stones, and the vanity of pedigrees. It would have been as well, however, had he told us of Wichnor, in this same parish of Tattenhill, a beautiful park and mansion standing on the hill there overlooking the Trent; and where, in the fourteenth century, one Sir Philip Sommerville, the ancient Lord of Wichnor, instituted a singular custom, which requires the lord of the manor to keep a fitch of bacon hanging in his hall at all times of the year, except in Lent, that it may be

delivered to any man or woman who shall come and claim it, and at the same time swear that he and she had been married a year and a day without repenting; and that if they were then single, and wished to be married again, the demandant would take the same party again before any other in the world. Two neighbours were required to testify to the truth of this deposition; and if the claimant was a freeman he received, besides the bacon, half a quarter of wheat and cheese; and if a villain, half a quarter of rye. These things, with the bacon, were carried before him, with trumpets, tabernets, minstrels, and a procession of the tenantry, through the lordship of Wichnor, and then without music to his abode, to the great scandal of Staffordshire. Since this custom was established but very few have dared to claim the prize, and three couples only have obtained it, one of which, having quarrelled about the mode of cooking the bacon, was adjudged to return it; and the other happy couple were a sea officer and his wife, who had never seen each other from the day of their marriage until they met at the hall; and "a simple pair in the neighbourhood, the husband a good-natured, sensible man, and the wife luckily dumb." No claimant for the flitch having appeared during several centuries, a wooden one has long since been substituted in its stead, and still hangs in the hall, "a friendly monitor to the young and free," adds a local historian, "to be cautious of trusting themselves in the hymeneal noose."

We would fain now descend the Trent, and repeople the vale, the town, the ford below, and the neighbouring heights, with glancing plumes, and reckless Cavaliers, and iron-helmeted Roundheads. Let Cromwell and Essex, the cautious Fairfax, and the fiery Rupert, figure on the scene; the Queen Henriette march down from Tutbury Castle and Ashby-de-la-Zouch into the good town of Burton; tell of bullets flying thick as hail; the town set on fire; the church roof blown off; the people harried and fined on both sides; and of marauding parties and "rob-carriers" lying in wait for decent merchants and wool-staplers crossing the long bridge; when no man's life or property was safe; when plunder and sequestration, debauchery and fanaticism, royalty and republicanism,

King and Parliament, "Noll" and "Rowley," alternately were supreme; and civil war prevailed in the land!

The Bridge of Burton—as the pass between Staffordshire and Derbyshire—was of course the object of warm contest to both parties; nor do we wonder that a Sir Thomas Tyldesley, who served King Charles the First as lieutenant-colonel at the battle of Edgehill, was knighted "for the desperate storming of Burton-upon-Trent, over a bridge of thirty-six arches."

But let us leave such scenes to the pen of the novelist, and to those who take delight in recounting transactions which are a stain upon the history of the period, and a disgrace to the humanity of the times.* We will pass these troubles by; and now once more upon the bridge, on the left hand, where the road to Stapenhill ascends, there is a gentle eminence, crested by a clump of trees, in vigorous growth, and highly ornamental to the landscape. These were planted in 1815, to commemorate the battle of Waterloo, and on the day that the news reached the town. The visit of the Prince Regent to the gallant Marquis of Anglesey, and the construction of a new sewer, the lighting of the town with gas in 1832, and the paving of the footpaths in the High Street in 1838, are all that remain to be told of the history of Burton-upon-Trent, of which it has not been our object to enter into the details; but simply to furnish such main features as might serve to give the reader more general impressions of a place whose ale, if not whose name, is in every man's mouth.

And now a word of the trade and manufactures of this ancient town.

Burton had its three staple trades in days of old, like Lincoln, which, as we learn from John Taylor's "Very Merry

* There is a MS., formerly in the possession of Sir George Gresley, and afterwards in the descendants of that Sir John Gell, the marriage of whose daughter to Anthony Allsopp, of the Dale, led to the ruin of the property of that ancient family, and to their subsequent connection with the Burton brewery. This MS. gives us a characteristic account how matters were conducted in and about Burton-upon-Trent by the Cromwellians during the great rebellion. It is entitled "A True Account of the Raising and Employing of one Foote Regiment, under Sir John Gell."

Wherry-Ferry Voyage, or York for my money, sometimes perilous, sometimes quarrellous, performed with a pair of oars by sea from London, by John Taylor and Job Pennell," 1622,

"Which city in the 3 King Edward's raigne
Was th' onely staple for this kingdome's gaine
For leather, lead, and wool."

But these trades were always in Burton circumscribed by the difficulty of communication and conveyance; that by land being confined to packhorses, by very bad roads, such as Cotton satirizes so heavily in his description of those of Derbyshire. The state of the river about Burton was just such as Taylor describes in the tract above quoted :—

"From thence we passed a ditch of weedes and mud,
Which they doe (falsely) there call *Forcedike* flood :
For I'll be sworn, no flood *I* could finde there
But dirt and filth, which scarce my boate could beare.
'Tis 8 miles long, and there our paines was such,
As all our travell did not seem so much.
My men did wade and drawe the boat like horses,
And scarce could tugge her on with all our forces ;
Moyl'd, toyl'd, myr'd, tyr'd, still lab'ring, ever doing,
Yet were we 9 long hours that 8 miles going.
At last, when as the day was well nigh spent,
We got from *Forcedike* floodes into Trent."

The necessity for some improvement in this navigation had been observed for centuries, but had been met with every kind of opposition; and when the time arrived for its execution, in King Charles the Second's days, the attention of the public was withdrawn to foreign speculations and South Sea fisheries, to be afterwards still further distracted by another revolution.

There is extant in the British Museum, by Dr. Thomas Congreve, of Wolverhampton, bound up with Erdeswicke's "Survey of Staffordshire," "A Scheme or Proposal for Making a Navigable Communication between the Rivers of Trent and Severn," published in 1719; by which it was shown that in

seventy miles from Aldersley to Burton there were forty-two mills and forges, and that seventy-one market towns and cities would trade by the proposed canal; that £1000 per week was lost out of the iron trade within six miles of Dudley Castle; that 1000 tons of coal might, perhaps, be sold every week more now or in the three counties, and as many of lead, lime, iron, timber, marble, fuller's earth, wool, &c., if a canal were made betwixt Severn and Trent, by Peak and Stour; then clothiers might trade from Burton to Kinfore, and so to Bridgewater."

"£300,000 per annum," says Sir William Petty, "is the charge of the land carriage in England (one railway alone receives more now-a-days in a month), one third of which might probably be saved, if this canal were made betwixt Severn and Trent, and another betwixt Severn and Thames, by the Baker River and market towns."

Captain Waters published a book about it, 1670, and had a Private Seal for the act granted by King Charles II. The completion of the Trent Navigation by Brindley's successor proved these data to be more than correct, and obtained the best possible result for the trade of Burton, as we shall presently show.

The most ancient record of the trade of Burton is that of Leland, who says there were in his time (the reign of Henry VIII.) "many travellers and workers in alabaster." Camden says:—

"The Trent joining Tame directs its course northwards through grounds yielding plenty of alabaster, in order to receive the Dove, and almost surrounds Burton (a questionable description), a town famous for its alabaster works."

The only remaining evidence of this trade, if it were ever large, is the stonemason's shop, which now stands on the island by the bridge, on the spot formerly occupied by the warehouse of the Trent Navigation. This person describes himself as "a marble-worker." There are gypsum works about five miles from Derby, for the plaster floors so celebrated in Derbyshire and Staffordshire; but as for workers in alabaster or marble there are none in the town or neighbourhood, though some

still subsist near Tutbury, where works in alabaster are very finely executed.

The next trade for which we hear Burton to be famous is that in linsey wolsey and cloths, as we find mentioned in a letter of Lord Essex, dated Nov. 22, 1644; and Sir Simon Degge, in a later edition of Erdeswicke's "Survey," informs us in a note about Burton that—

"It was before the last wars a town much given to cloathing, their kersies being in great esteem in this country; but since the war it has declined in trade, having suffered much by the plunder, it being held out against the king."

This trade has been lost to Burton, the most part having gone to Leeds, or further north, there being always a deficiency of capital to carry out any manufactory in the town, from the fact that capitalists have been unwilling to deal with the peculiar tenure of the land (that of leases for lives); inasmuch as it was one which ultimately ensured the total value of all improvements to the landlord, who in some instances, it is noticed, may in nowise whatsoever have assisted in the development of the resources of his own property. Thus, then, the cloth trade was lost to Burton, and lost so utterly that even for a charity of money and loans left for Burton clothiers by Dr. Caldwell, a benevolent physician, in the 24th Elizabeth, there can no longer be found Burton clothiers as recipients!

Malting has long been a trade for which Burton is celebrated. Dr. Plott mentions the town as the first and last in which he had seen maltsters dry their barley in the sun in the open streets.

Some years ago there was a trade in the manufacture of iron screws and other hardware; but this also of late has ceased to be of any importance.

There was also an extensive trade carried on during the war in the manufacture of hats; but this also languished on the introduction of certain improvements in the manufacture which required machinery and capital; so that this trade, also, completely left Burton when the fashion for French hats (made of silk on hard bodies) became predominant. The last of the

Ports (once the great firm who contracted for the army hats) still lingers in Burton ; but "the hatters with bare backs" are no longer to be seen at every corner plying their dark vocation. The solitary remnant of the trade may, however, be observed at Stapenhill ferry, a mile above Burton.

It was here, however, after the Lancashire riots in 1779, in the tranquil neighbourhood of Burton, by the side of the silver Trent, and amid people contented and industrious, that the first Mr. Peel found all he required—security for the investment of capital in labour, and the power to do his best in his own way, for his own interest, and consequently for that of the community at large. Here there were no incendiaries, as at Bolton, Blackburn, and Oldham, to burn his factories—no riotous mobs to throw his machinery into the river ; and here his works went on uninterruptedly, until complete success crowned his efforts.

It is curious to hear the good dame at the "Boat-house" tell how her grandmother remembered the two Peels, brothers, coming every morning for their milk and roll for breakfast, as they sedulously watched the progress of fitting up their cotton factory ; and how, having originally purchased the lease of the property, which was held on a tenure of "freehold for three lives," they discovered that, when the last life ran out, the mills had reverted to the Paget family, who unworthily taking advantage of the increased value put upon them by the introduced cotton manufacture, required so heavy a fine for renewal, that those who had brought the works to Burton determined to remove them. So was it that the Peels retired from the dominion of the Pagets ; and the town of Burton-upon-Trent lost another great staple.



CHAPTER V.

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF BITTER BEER.

"Heaven has to all allotted, soon or late,
Some lucky revolution of their fate,
Whose motions, if we watch and guide with skill,
(For human good depends on human will),
Our fortune rolls as from a smooth descent,
And from the first impression takes its bent;
But, if unseiz'd, she glides away like wind,
And leaves repenting folly far behind;
Now, now she meets you as a glorious prize,
And spreads her locks before her as she flies."

DRYDEN.

THE first record of Burton ale is lost in remote antiquity. Tacitus informs us that beer was the wine of the northern nations; and, doubtless, our Saxon ancestors took care to have their wine of the best. Now, to the soundness and excellence of beer, water of a peculiar character is essential; and that not only of uncommon fineness and purity, but of a special character. The necessary qualities exist in the Burton well-water,—a water so famous for its qualities in days of yore, that it is no wonder the Saxon kings built a bridge to enable their subjects the more readily to come over to drink the beer; or that so many lands were left to an abbey that kept an excellent cellar of beer, and whose monks showed their appreciation of its value by frequently electing their cellerman to be their abbot. So potent, indeed, must have been the effects of this Burton ale, that several times, and especially in the twelfth century, in consequence of the frequent accidents that happened to passengers in crossing it, it was found necessary to raise the parapet of this ancient bridge. Sir Walter Scott, in grateful remembrance of the Burton ale he had tasted, introduces it with true gusto in his "Ivanhoe," a tale of the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion; and Thomas Miller notices it in his "Fair Rosamond," as drank by Thomas à Becket and his chaplain on a hurried journey by the Trent.

Little need is there, however, of historical authorities to

show that Burton beer was well known, and being known, much esteemed. Its reputation—or rather its consumption—must, however, have been to a certain extent local; since it has taken four generations to bring this staple article to its present height of popularity, and insure its wide diffusion over all parts of the globe. Nor has this been done without great toil and care—without much difficulty and many vicissitudes;—toil which has only been rewarded; care that has only been repaid; difficulty that has only been surmounted; and vicissitudes that have only been successfully passed through because every man of these four generations, in the one great house to whom the honour, as it were, of the Burton ale trade has been intrusted, has never, in a single instance, swerved from the path of high principle; but has invariably looked less to the immediate return to himself and his firm than to supporting and increasing the credit of the Burton beer, which he knew would, with every successive improvement in sale or character, become an heirloom more valuable to his successors and townsmen. Hence, every apparent misfortune in the trade of this great house—whose history, rise, and progress we intend briefly to relate—has been the father of some new success; and every vicissitude has resulted in some change for the better.

Dr. Johnson said of Thrale's brewery, "We are not here to sell a parcel of vats and boilers, but for the potentiality of growing rich beyond the dreams of avarice." This might, almost a century ago, have been predicated of the brewery at Burton; and the wise philosopher and sage, who could see, in the confined capital of Thrale, the future millions of Barclay, might, looking at the then humble brewery of Benjamin Wilson, as shown in the view of Burton engraved in 1720, have foreseen the palatial premises and wide-world fame of his successors.

Writing about the same time as the great lexicographer, Dr. Shaw, in his "History and Antiquities of Staffordshire" (published in 1798), in speaking of the brewing trade of Burton, says:—"The first origin of this business here was about ninety years ago, and simply commenced with a few public-houses; and one Benjamin Prilson was the first who began, in

a small way (by employing only three men), anything like the business of a common brewer."

This "Benjamin Prilson," said to be the first "common brewer,"—that is, one who brews to supply other houses than his own,—was "Benjamin Wilson," the *Pr.* for the *W.* being a misprint, as no such name appears in the parish register of Burton-upon-Trent; nor is any family bearing that name existing, or has been known to exist, in the town.

This Benjamin Wilson was either the father of the first great brewer of Burton ales, or it may have been himself; for letters of "old Benjamin Wilson" are extant, which show him to have been established in a fine flourishing foreign trade in Burton ales, in 1748, nearly half a century before Dr. Shaw published, and probably some forty years before he began to collect materials for, his book. Be this as it may, Dr. Shaw acknowledges at that time the reputation of the Burton ales, and quotes a remarkable passage from Dr. Darwin, in which he cursorily philosophises on the nature and properties of the Burton-on-Trent well-waters, and accounts, to his own satisfaction, for the superior strength of the Burton beers:—"But I cannot leave this account of calcareous or hard waters without adding, that I suppose, from the great affinity between calcareous earth and sulphuric acid, may be explained a circumstance, the theory of which has never been understood, and therefore the fact has generally been doubted; and that is, that hard waters make stronger beer than soft ones. I appeal to the brewers of Burton for the fact, who have the soft water of the Trent running on one side of their brewhouses, and yet prefer, universally, the harder calcareous water supplied by their pumps. I suppose there may be some saccharine quality in the malt (which is not all of it equally perfectly made into sugar by the vegetable digesting power of the germinating barley), which, by its attracting the calcareous earths of hard waters, may produce a kind of mineral sugar, which, like the true sugar, may be convertible into spirit."

We may here somewhat diverge from the regular progress of our story, to give the recent analyses of the same water,

made by eminent chemists of the present day, and which were published in the *Lancet* of May 15, 1852:—

“COMPOSITION AND PECULIARITIES OF THE BURTON WATER.

“Burton brewers have long been celebrated for the quality of their beer, and many conjectures have been made to account for the excellence and superiority of the article brewed in that locality.

“It is the general opinion, in which, we believe, the brewers themselves concur, that their success depends to a great extent upon the quality of the well-water used.

“This water, repeated analyses have shown, contains a very large quantity of sulphate of lime, a good deal of the sulphates of potash and magnesia, and a considerable amount of carbonate of lime; the lime and magnesia in the state of carbonate being held in solution by carbonic acid, the excess of which is so great as to redden blue litmus-paper.

“The Burton well-water, therefore, is evidently a very hard water, remarkable for the quantity of earthy sulphates and carbonates contained in it, and, *a priori*, it would be considered, from its chemical constitution, but ill adapted for the purpose of brewing. That it is not so, however, has been shown by long experience. A rational and scientific explanation of the cause of the superiority of the Burton well-water can now be afforded.

“In the course of boiling, the excess of carbonic acid in the water, by which the carbonates of lime and magnesia are dissolved, is expelled, and these salts are precipitated; again, the alkaline phosphates present in malt have the power of decomposing and precipitating sulphate of lime, phosphate of lime, and, a soluble alkaline sulphate being formed, the greater part of the phosphate of lime so formed is redissolved in the acid generated during fermentation. The water from being at first hard thus becomes comparatively soft, and in this state is well suited for the extraction of the active properties of the malt and hops used in the manufacture of bitter beer.

“The correctness of this explanation is clearly shown in the following analyses:—

"Analysis of the Water used in the Brewery of Messrs. Allsopp and Sons by Dr. Henry Böttinger.

Contents of One Imperial Gallon.	Grains.
Chloride of Sodium	10.12
Sulphate of Potassa	7.65
" lime	18.96
" magnesia	9.95
Carbonate of lime	15.51
" magnesia	1.70
" iron (protoxide)	0.60
Silica	0.79
Total solid contents	65.28

Besides a varying quantity of carbonic acid, free, keeping the carbonates in solution.

"The water is remarkable for its complete freedom from organic matter.

"Analysis showing the Saline and Mineral Ingredients contained in Sample of Beer brewed by Messrs. Allsopp and Sons.

(Taken from the Stores at Blackwall.)

Contents of One Imperial Gallon.	Grains.
Alkaline sulphates (chiefly of Potassa)	78
Alkaline chlorides	28
Alkaline carbonates and phosphates	14
Phosphate of lime and magnesia (very fusible before the blowpipe)	102

Total saline and mineral ingredients 222

"It will be observed that the earthy salts—the carbonates and sulphates of lime and magnesia—which impart the quality of hardness to water, have disappeared, and that the Burton water, though hard at first, really becomes a soft water, as contained in the beer.

"But the chemical constitution of the Burton water explains also another circumstance connected with Burton ales. It is known that these ales speedily become bright and clear, that they never require "finings" to be employed, and are fit for use almost as soon as brewed.

"Now, the depurating power of lime is well known, inasmuch that it has long been employed in the clarification of cane and other vegetable juices; and it is, no doubt, to the presence and precipitation of this substance that the action of the

Burton water in rendering the beer transparent and bright is attributable."

It is curious that water possessing these peculiar properties is confined to certain localities in this district, separated, in some instances, only a few feet from each other. It is a fact that more than one brewery attempted in Burton-on-Trent has been closed, because, being situated at the other end of the town, the speculators have found the water of a totally different quality, and their outlay of labour and capital has proved utterly fruitless.

Looking from the old bridge to the right up the valley, where, as Milton says,

"Trent, like some earth-born giant, spreads
His thirty arms along the indented meads,"

the eye is led from the gently-flowing river over deep meadows to the town, more than one half of which is composed of two breweries. In fact, Burton is a city of breweries; the most complete of which is that of Messrs. Allsopp and Sons,—although the space within the view of the spectator from the bridge comprises not more than half their immense premises, for their cooperage and malthouses are located in other parts of the town. These vast factories have been rebuilt thrice within the last fourteen years; and, so large is the increase of trade, that annual additions to their extent are necessary. They stand, however, covering what were formerly gardens and fields attached to the premises occupied by the originator of the firm, and of the staple trade of Burton— Benjamin Wilson.

To found, by individual exertion, a new trade which shall enrich a whole community; to establish a great mercantile house, and so to consolidate the character of its productions as to ensure not only a continuance of its reputation, but a permanent advantage to the locality where its operations are carried on—are works of no ordinary merit—tasks demanding no small expenditure of labour, and the possession of no ordinary talent. Fortunate, indeed, was it for the town of Burton-on-Trent that in Benjamin Wilson, and his successor, Samuel Allsopp, it possessed two men equal to such great works.

A man more competent than Benjamin Wilson cannot easily

be imagined. With a mind firm and disciplined, comprehensive in his views of business, and at the same time minutely careful in details, he was of a truly large spirit, yet a shrewd financier; the very soul of honour, and thorough man of business; a theorist, yet a practical man; a speculator, yet of caution bordering on closeness. True in his friendships, exact in his engagements, simple in manners, hearty in feelings, amiable in demeanour, courteous in all communications, he never lost a friend or made an enemy; he extended his transactions without creating jealousy, and rendered every customer a warm partisan. The character he achieved for his brewery he regarded as the best legacy he could leave to his children. Such as was his own character, such was the tone "old Benjamin Wilson," as he is still affectionately called at Burton, gave to his house; such was the feeling preserved by his son and nephew, and such is it now conscientiously maintained by his grandnephew.

It has been already observed that the Burton beer trade was merely local, extending only to the surrounding towns and villages, and such places as might be reached by the pack-horse roads of the period; for the days of old Benjamin Wilson were early days, when roads were few. There are people now living at Burton who can remember when the roads to Repton and to Bretby were first made; when the High Street was unpaved, and the stream that now cleanses the main sewer ran down the middle of the public way; when the house-doors were reached by flights of stone steps; and when old Isaac Bass, the carrier of Nether Hall (once the seat of the Blounts, but now, as then, an old dilapidated brick house); in Anderstaff Lane, might be seen trudging up the High Street by the side of the one-horse cart in which he conveyed goods to and from Burton to Ashby; or stopping on his way to talk of business and drink his nip of Burton with the waggoner, who, with his six black horses, their tails tied up, nets over their haunches, their frontlets so peculiar to this vicinity, and flycaps on their ears, was about to start for a ten days' journey to London, waiting awhile to give time for the sorrowful and long farewells of his passengers on so momentous an occasion. Then, too, would old Isaac, boasting of the strength and good

ness of Burton ale, learn with wonderment from the waggoner, that there was hardly a house in London where such could be procured, save at the Peacock in Gray's Inn Lane; and that, when he took up a spare barrel or so (for it was only what was thought could be spared that Benjamin Wilson sent to London) it was much sought after.

Nobody in Burton then thought of London as a market for their ales. They reached St. Petersburg before London; and the Empress Catharine, as we learn from scandalous chronicles of the period, freely used them—nay, that even the Czar Peter and his boorish nobility delighted in them long before either of our royal Georges had imbibed their fragrance at St. James's. An eye-witness of the festivities of the Czar, as quoted in the "Lives of the Sovereigns of Russia," recently published by Mr. George Fowler, thus describes the order of an imperial banquet under Peter the Great:—

"As soon as one sits down, one is obliged to drink a cup of brandy, after which they ply you with great glasses of adulterated tokay and other vitiated wines, and between whiles a bumper of the strongest English beer!"

This "strong English beer" was the Burton ale brewed by the predecessors of the present firm of Allsopp and Sons. What had been at first introduced as a luxury by the Czar became afterwards a fashionable beverage in his court, and an article of large consumption among his subjects. Thus, then, the trade of Burton-on-Trent was great with the metropolis of Russia, while it was almost valueless with the metropolis of England.

And how did this happen? It is a curious instance of the importance of intercommunication to every country, and a chapter in the history of inland navigation and conveyance, by river, canal, or railway, which we may hereafter, and at greater length, lay before the reader.

Finding that every other town and place on the Trent was enjoying the advantage of a navigable river, as well as of communication with the north of England and the midland counties, while the navigation stopped within five or six miles of their good town, where the course of the river was impeded

by shallows and banks, it was no one's business to remove,—the worthy people of Burton met together, and determined to remedy the evil. This could only be effected by inducing Lord Paget to improve his property, by giving him certain tolls on the river; and no sooner was this clearly understood by his lordship than he pushed the Trent Navigation Act through both Houses, with a flourishing preamble, that reads very much like the preliminary prospectus of some modern railway company:—

“Forasmuch as making the river Trent, in the counties of Derby, Leicester, and Stafford, navigable, will very much advance trade and commerce, and occasion a communication between the easterne and western parts of this kingdom, whereby they may be made much more helpfull and serviceable to each other, and the midland parts of this kingdome not only furnished with such foreign commodities as they want, but be enabled the better to dispose of the products of their owne countrey, to the incouragement and increase of their manufacture, whereby their poor (which are now very numerous) may be the better employed, and the public good of the kingdom be much advanced.”

The Trent Navigation extended to Gainsborough, which communicated with Hull, the English port for Baltic produce. Here the Burton ale gradually found its way; and the Baltic captains introducing it by degrees to the ports to which they traded, it soon grew into demand, and was imported from England in larger quantities.

As the Midland people wanted hemp, flax, and staves, the Russian captains came to Burton to dispose of their cargoes. But there the people, not having much capital, could only offer good ale in exchange, which being strong and sweet, as it was then the custom to brew it, greatly pleased the northern strangers. They soon came back for more; and, in course of time, created so great and increasing a home trade, that “old Benjamin Wilson” was induced to devote to it his particular attention.

In 1748 we have evidence that the operations of Mr. Benjamin Wilson were on no small scale, as the entries in the books of account, ranging from 1748 to 1769, amply testify.

Thus, in 1765, the account of Messrs. Blayden, of Hull, from October to March, is £373 9s. 10d.; and that of Messrs. John and William Hornby, of Gainsborough, for the same period, is £288 5s. 10½d. These, moreover, are supposed to be balances of account in return for Memel hemp and Russian flax.

In 1766, the account of Messrs. Samuel Watson and Sons, of Hull, is settled by £655 0s. 4d.; Messrs. George Storey and Co., £359 13s. 3d.; and Mr. Robert Wilberforce, £428 13s. 2d., which he paid in flax. From 1770 to 1790, a volume of correspondence exists which affords sufficient proof of the great extent of the business, and the large foreign connections of the house. The contents of this volume are exceedingly curious, as records of the transactions of an old firm. Part of the business was evidently conducted by barter, seldom, however, exceeding 25 per cent.; and this in a description of produce necessary for the business, such as timber, staves, &c.

Thus, in reply to Mr. Laughton, of Shegby, November 16, 1770, Mr Wilson writes:—"We are not stinted for quantity, but can take 2, 3, or 400 quarters;" and, November 19, in writing to Mr. Thorley, of Hull, he says, "Casks we can dispense with, having already the best part of 1000 of all sorts in our possession,"—small, indeed, in proportion to the more than 100,000 casks which the house of Allsopp and Sons have lying out in different stores.

Numerous letters, the details of which refer to particular business transactions, evidence the steadily-increasing reputation of the Burton ales brewed by the predecessor of Messrs. Allsopp, and the constantly-accumulating amount of capital embarked in the establishment. The increase of business is shown in a letter to Mr. Charles Best, dated Jan. 12, 1774, in which it is said—

"We have already two large Brewhouses employ'd, and about to use a third: the whole of which will take all the Money I can raise with convenience to myself, beyond which I do not choose to go."

The vast increase and importance of the trade with Russia is also noted in the same letter:—"With respect to the Quan-

tity of Ale likely to go to St. Petersburg, it wd. be very considerable could the orders be compleated, but from various causes that is impossible. The other Ports have made great demands upon us this year, so that, though a great deal of Ale will be brew'd from this Time to the 5th of April, yet we hope and believe Petersburg cannot be overcharged. Our orders for that place exceed 600 Hogsheads."

We will give a letter from Mr. Benjamin Wilson, addressed to a St. Petersburg house, Oct. 23, 1775, literally and in full, since it distinctly states the method in which the foreign trade was conducted. As a mercantile letter, it is a model of courtesy, clearness, and business-like explanation.

"To Mr. John Daniel Newman and Co., Petersbg.

"Gentlemen,—We recd. in Course your much-esteemed Favor, dated the 28th July, and Contents noted. We confess ourselves concerned that some little Difficulty attending ye first Interpretation of yr. Letter has protracted in some degree the Dispatch of our Reply, and in consequence subjected us to the probable imputation of Inattention wch. we ever wish and shall endeavour to stand exempt from; but as that Inconvenience is in some Measure removed, any future letter we may have ye Pleasure to receive, we can be informed of with the greater Facility. To people who have the Credit of their own Manufacture and ye inseparable Interest of their Friends at Heart, we cannot but feel an accumulated Satisfaction at every additional Instance of our Ale proving fine and distinguishing itself, wch. in Justice to its Character we have ye happiness to say our Friends have universally confirmed. To ye several Queries of yr. Letter, we beg leave to acquaint you, that tho' many merchants in St. Petersburg are supplied with Burton Ale from our House, yet there are many that we are not immediately connected with, their orders being principally transmitted thro' ye Houses of Hull and London, which may be called their Representatives, and from whom we receive the greatest share of our orders; but, as a foreign Connexion wd.

be equally acceptable when satisfactorily established, we shd. consider it with equal Attention and Respect. The Price of Ale last Year at Burton, from ye extravagant Price of Grain, sold for 17d. per Gallon: what may be ye price for ye present Season is as yet undetermined, the value of wch. is generally regulated by the Average Cost of Grain, wch. so early in ye Season wd. be premature to say.

"You desire to know at what price we can undertake to ship you the Ale pr. Gallon, free on Board, which is a mode we are never accustomed to observe, as our Friends always pay us for ye ale deld. at Burton, and defray the Consequent Expenses of Fret. and Shippg. themselves; and as we ourselves wish to reap no Benefit therefrom, take this opportunity of subjoining for yr. own Satisfaction an acct. of the Fret. to Hull, and other Expenses, by way of specimen, on thirty Hhds. of Ale shipped the last Season, which, with very little or no Variation, may be proportioned for a larger or a lesser qty. Our Casks of 80 gall. Size we charge 22s. each, of 40 Gall. 11s., both peculiar to Petersbg. Markett, and which being made of ye best Materials our Friends do chearfully agree to. Tho' ye Price of Ale cannot be decisively fixed from ye Principle of wishing to charge you neither more nor less than ye common Price for Ale of Equal Quality, yet we doubt not you wd. readily consent to be put upon ye same Footing with those of our choicest Customers; and, to convince you that we wish to consider all with the same Degree of Advantage, do refer you to the House of Messrs. Coole and Watson, Mr. Seebeck, Mr. Jas. Jackson's, and others, for ye Faith of our assurance, who we doubt wd. give you ye needful Satisfaction on that Head. We need not observe that for ye Value of any Transaction of this Nature we are always guaranteed in a Foreign Connexion either upon Amsterdam or London, in some indubitable House, to be paid any Time in ye Months of June, July, or August, as is convenient fr. our friend, and that, if these Proposals shd. meet yr. Approbation, we shd. be glad to cultivate yr. correspondence, who are with ye greatest Sincerity and Respect, gent., yr. mo. obet. servts.,

"B. WILSON & Co."

A letter in 1775 mentions the retirement of Mr. John Walker Wilson; and also serves to show how gradually the house had, in consequence of the excellence of the article supplied by it, been enabled to extricate itself from the embarrassing and occasionally complicated method of conducting its transactions by barter, into which the sudden entry into so large a business by "old Benjamin Wilson" had inevitably led him. In a letter dated Feb. 25, 1778, Benjamin Wilson, the younger, announces the retirement of his brother William from the business in his favour; and in Sept. 23, 1779, we find him returning his thanks to Mr. Frederick William Von Ankum for his "very great civility to him while at Dantzic, and his manifest desire to make his visits always agreeable." A letter, in 1789, to Mr. Ross, mentions a bill of lading of 150½ casks of Burton ale shipped in the *Friendship*, Captain Snowdon, for account of our mutual and worthy friend Mr. John Eberhard Tauber, of Warsaw."

A letter of June 15, to Messrs. John James Roskampeff and Co., and another of Sept. 9, 1789, to Mr. C. F. Zimmerman, furnish us with some details in respect to casks—an important item in the expenses of Burton ale, as well to the public as to the brewers.

The whole contents of this volume of mercantile correspondence tend to show with what laborious diligence, high integrity, and anxious care, the great business of the house of Benjamin Wilson and Sons was originated and consolidated.

The success of the Duke of Bridgewater's canals induced a number of the Staffordshire gentlemen to revive the idea of canal navigation through their county, for the advancement of the landed interest and the benefit of trade; and Brindley, the great originator of canals, thus undertook to unite the Trent and the Mersey. In 1765 the act was obtained; and Brindley's original intention was to have brought the canal into Burton; but this was prevented by the ignorant jealousy of the Trent Navigation Committee, who, fortified by the opinion of their engineer that no canal could be carried over the Dove, rejected every proposal. Brindley, however, effected this by an aqueduct; and the wiseacres of Burton saw, in 1779,

the canal carried on to Birmingham, and extensive wharves and warehouses erected on its branches, while they themselves were compelled to cart their goods more than a mile, and load and unload, in place of landing or carting from their own doors. After many years, when the navigation of the Trent to Burton had been totally destroyed—all goods being sent by the canal instead of the river—a branch was made into Burton at the south end of the town, just in time to be superseded by the railways, which have again revived the connection between Burton, Liverpool, and Hull. The completion of this canal in 1777 gave a great impetus to the foreign trade of Benjamin Wilson and Sons, by affording increased facility and economy of communication. In 1776 Mr. Benjamin Wilson the younger proceeded to Dantzic to preserve and increase the connection of the house; it being the custom then, as now, to send the younger members of a firm to visit the principal seats of trade, to become personally acquainted with the merchants, and to habituate themselves to business. This visit of Mr. Benjamin Wilson the younger was indeed fortunate; for the knowledge he then acquired enabled him to open such a connection with Poland, and the provinces bordering on the Baltic, as afterwards essentially tended to the aggrandisement of the house, and served to secure it from the effects of the Austrian tariff, which shortly after came into force.

It was about this time that an incident happened, fraught with the highest importance to the future interests of Burton-on-Trent. Those who drink pale ale in India, or restore their health by the mild tonic of bitter beer, little know that for these enjoyments and that bitterness, as for the sweets and bitters of life, they are indebted to the sly god Cupid; but, as Sir Walter Raleigh says,

“What thing is love, that nought can countervail!”

In a deep valley about five miles north-west of Ashbourne, where the country swells towards the Peak, there is still standing, on a gentle eminence, an old manor-house with pointed gables, commanding the whole dale, and in olden days the seat of the ancient Derbyshire family of the Allsopps of the

Dale. The first we hear of them is in the person of one Hugh de Allsopp, or Elleshope (for so the name is written in charters, indifferently), who went with King Richard I. to the Holy Land, and upon whom the king, for his good service in the siege of Acre, bestowed the honour of knighthood, and for the further augmentation of his honour gave him an escutcheon, *argent*, a fesse *gules* between six falcons heads erased *sable* armed. This Hugh went as captain of a company under the conduct of Sir Ralph de Lyleburne, who was colonel of four companies; which Sir Ralph (in recompense for services to him done), upon his return gave to him in marriage his niece, the daughter of Roger de Farington, with certain lands in the county of Derby.

This "Elleshope," as we learn from a charter in 1806, was an ancient demesne of the Crown, which had been granted to William Ferrers, Earl of Derby, who, in the reign of King John, granted the town of Allsopp to Gwen, son of Gamel de Alsop, to hold by homage and service of 10s. per annum (no trifling amount, considering the then value of money) and suit to the wapentake of Wirksworth.

For seventeen generations the Allsopps of the Dale enjoyed this as their patrimony, and though they had increased and multiplied in divers counties, and had become possessed of large estates in Worcester and elsewhere, yet the old house in the Dale was regarded as their chief and proudest inheritance. Anthony Allsopp, who had married a daughter of Sir John Gell, of Hopton, after selling, in 1688, *nine* several estates in Allsopp, Newtown, and Thorpe, to John Brown Esq., parted with the family seat, in 1691, to Sir Philip Gell, his brother-in-law. The family then took up their residence in Derby; and Mr. James Allsopp, the great-grandson of this Anthony Allsopp, having married the daughter of old Benjamin Wilson, thus commenced the connection of the old knightly family of the Dale with the brewing trade of Burton-upon-Trent.

The names of Allsopp and the brewing trade, however, had long been associated; for we find a Mr. Allsopp mentioned as the "king's brewer" by Pepys in his "Diary." Indeed we are indebted to this Mr. Allsopp for the original story of

Charles II.'s promise to Lucy Waters about her son the Duke of Monmouth, and the Duke's claim to legitimacy; since the king's brewer tells all the secrets of the Royal household, and how his majesty used to go to Lady Castlemaine's nursery at midnight, and have the children up and dance with them.

What is wanting in the connecting links of the history of the brewing trade of Burton can be best learned in a narrative of the transactions of the houses of Benjamin Wilson and Co., B. Wilson Brothers, Wilson and Allsopp, and Samuel Allsopp and Sons. We are enabled to take up the narrative from nearly a century since, and connect it with the present time by living testimony.

At the little picturesque boat-house, which stands on the right bank, nearly embowered in trees, about a mile below the bridge of Burton, down the river between the ancient falling-mills, and that once worked by old Sir Robert Peel, may sometimes be met on his way home to Derby, where he is now located, a bright-eyed and brisk old fellow, named Dyche. This decent man is full of information on the early history of the Burton brewing trade; and some of his remembrances may be worth preserving. "He has drank Burton ale all his life, and should soon be 'poisoned,'" he says, "if he did not drink it; he takes little, but strong; and prefers the old sort. He remembers old Benjamin Wilson well—a kind, hearty, portly, well-favoured old gentleman, somewhat peppery withal, but never angry without a cause, and always ready to reason with the men. When Dyche was a little boy he used to carry his father's dinner to Benjamin Wilson's brewery. As for saying that Benjamin Wilson began the brewery, that could not be; for the brewery was so old that no one ever heard of its having a beginning. The very land it stood upon was freehold; and that made it out to be older than the abbey. His father had worked forty years at the brewery. He himself was twelve years old at the time (it must be remarked that this gives us a tradition of 102 years, and carries us back to 1751). His father was a sawyer. His business was to saw up the timber (brought from the Baltic in exchange for ale) into staves for the coopers to make the casks, in which the Burton ale is kept

in stock, in place of vats, and of which a large quantity was worked up at the brewery. He was apprenticed, through the kindness of Mr. Wilson, to John Hill, a cooper at the brewery. Such a service was then thought as good as an inheritance. He used to work with his father. Old Benjamin Wilson did not allow his men to get drunk. They were all wholesome fellows (and so are the men there now), not bloated, big, and "rotten," like the London porter-brewers. Old Wilson would let the men have ale, but not strong beer to drink at discretion. Sobriety was the rule, but his father was one of the exceptions; so were most of the sawyers, for old Wilson was obliged to fetch them from the public-houses when work was "on the stretch." He remembered the old gentleman saying to him when he told him he was going to work with his father, "I doubt he will do thee no good." He replied, "I will try and make him a sober man." He succeeded in doing so, and his father and mother were happy ever afterwards, and he and his brothers had always a good home to go to. His regular wages were £1 5s. weekly. He has earned £4 a week, and some sawyers regularly earned £3 a week, and even £6 a week. He and his brother left the brewhouse when Bonaparte knocked down the foreign trade; for then there was nothing for them to do. They went to Derby to seek their fortunes as common sawyers, with ten pounds between them. They first introduced the use of the circular saw at Derby, became timber merchants, and realized an independence. Dycbe is now seventy-four, and was apprenticed at Wilson's brewery at fourteen. There have been great alterations in ales. He does not like the change. The commonest ale, when he was a boy, was as strong as the strongest ale brewed now. The taste for strong ale had gone out, in consequence of an alteration in the quality of drinkable ales by Mr. Samuel Allsopp, which he first tried at Liverpool. The Burton brewers did not send much to London—only what they could spare, and what could not be consumed in their own neighbourhood. The little that went was carried to London in waggon, the waggoners taking orders, and guaranteeing the return of the barrels, the outlay of capital on which was something enormous. Wilson was

the only brewer that sent abroad, and his the only great house at Burton.

In his time, says Dyche, the other brewers were small dealers: their names were—Evans, Worthington, Sketchley, Clay, Hackett, Musgrove, Dicken, Sherrard, Moorcroft, and Leeson. Old Benjamin Wilson had two sons and one daughter, who was very beautiful. Mr. James Allsopp married her. He was the father of Mr. Samuel Allsopp, whose son, Mr. Henry, now has the brewery. Benjamin Wilson the younger had no children, and took his nephew Samuel into the business, much to his father's displeasure, who wished him to be brought up to the church. John Walker Wilson, the other son of old Benjamin, when he found how grand and great the brewing business had grown to be, came to Burton, and the old gentleman took him into partnership. But John Walker Wilson could not be quiet. Benjamin Wilson was always for the foreign trade, and John Walker Wilson wanted to have the home trade also; so they separated, and he started for himself in the home line, and built the brewhouse that Mr. Evans had afterwards, and which is now Mr. Worthington's. But he "made no hand of it," and his brewery failed. True it is that nobody lost by him, but he gave up brewing. John Walker Wilson started the Burton Bank with Mr. Dalrymple. Samuel Allsopp succeeded Benjamin Wilson the younger, and a hard time he had of it; for though Mr. Benjamin had beaten all the other brewers, even his own brother, yet there was somebody stronger than him, and that was Bonaparte. He soon settled all their foreign trade,—and this was in Samuel Allsopp's first year; but he got over it, and they are now the greatest people here.

Isaac Bass, he says, went to Musgrave's brewhouse as head turner's-man. Young Benjamin Wilson lived and died a bachelor, and left the old brewery to Mr. Samuel Allsopp, his nephew. None of the work in Wilson's brewery, or anywhere else in Burton, was done by machinery. The pumping up of the water was then handwork; now it is turned by steam. Benjamin Wilson used to brew five tubs (218 bushels) a-day. He supposes Allsopp's now brew fifty tubs (2180 bushels) a-day.

When he first went, there were in Wilson's employ thirty men, as brewers, maltsters, sawyers, and coopers. They had only to take the beer about in the neighbourhood, or down to the river-side to be put on board the barges; but the canal changed this.

The robbery on these barges was very great. There were certain locks where they always made a rule to put in a spile. John Walker Wilson used to send Peter Smith's uncle, Joe Smith, down to Gainsborough to take care of the ale, when on its way to Hull; for Joseph, the grandfather of Peter, had been a Trent boat captain, and a rough lot to deal with were the Trent boatmen, having things very much their own way, and insisting on rights and privileges like a set of inland pirates."

Such is old Dyche's story, as told in his very words. It may serve to preserve the memory of the past.

Successful as was the firm of Benjamin Wilson and Son, it received a severe shock from the promulgation of the well known Russian tariff. The Empress Catherine, though as partial to Burton ale as the Great Peter, could not entirely control the humours of her subjects; and was induced by Prince Potemkin to institute a commercial tariff by which, from her Imperial Majesty's ardent desire to protect the agriculture of the Russian empire, and to protect the native brewing of very bad black beer, she imposed heavy duties on the importation of Burton ale. There was, in consequence, deep mourning in Moscow, and loud groans in St. Petersburg; but dire as was the lamentation along the shores of the Baltic, it was nothing to the grumbling and sorrow at Burton in Benjamin Wilson and Sons' brewery.

Nothing, however, could be done but push the Burton ale into the Polish provinces; and the Polish nobility showed their full appreciation of the flavour, and purity, and potency of Wilson and Sons' Burton ales. In lordly halls, and at costly banquets, it was quaffed in vast quantities; and spreading through Poland across the frontier to Prussia, it soon began to make its way into remoter districts of Germany.

In 1805 Mr. Benjamin Wilson, known as the "younger,"

to distinguish him from "old Benjamin Wilson," the founder of the fortunes of the house, retired from the brewery, which he left, being a bachelor, with the stock and plant, in the hands of his nephew, Mr. Samuel Allsopp, who, at the age of twenty-four, thus found himself at the head of one of the largest, if not the oldest breweries in the kingdom. But he was without capital—a circumstance of which those who placed the young gentleman in this position never anticipated he would feel the disadvantage, but rather regarded themselves as having raised him up to the "highest coin and pinnacle of 'vantage," and fairly started him on the road to fortune; for the brewery had been now the means of establishing two generations in opulence, and the trade was such as more than adequately supplied its own resources. It happened, fortunately, however, that Mr. Samuel Allsopp had increased his resources by a marriage with Miss Fowler, of Shrewsbury—a lady of large fortune, and the heiress of one of the oldest families in Staffordshire.

The name of Wilson was still preserved as the title of the firm, conjointly with that of Allsopp, from being so well known to the foreign merchants in the Russian and Baltic provinces, from whom letters often reached Burton bearing simply the direction to "Herr Benjamin Wilson, England," who, full of years, and with the affectionate respect of all around him, died at Burton in 1812, and lies buried in the parish church.

In 1806, most unexpectedly, and exposing to the severest test the skill and energies of the young brewer, "a chill and nipping frost" succeeded the sunshine which for nearly a century had gilded the house of Benjamin Wilson. The Continent was suddenly closed to British Commerce by the Berlin and Milan decrees of the Emperor Napoleon. The other houses of Burton-on-Trent felt little of the effects; but the well-directed blow at the foreign commerce of Great Britain fell with crushing force on the house of Wilson and Allsopp, destroying the whole of their Baltic trade, and at once stopping their exports to Russia and Poland.

So abrupt, so sudden, and so unexpected was this shock,

that Mr. Thomas Allsopp, who was actively engaged in advancing the interest of the house abroad, and studying the Baltic trade in Hamburg, was surrounded by the merchants on the Exchange, and urged to immediate flight. He passed through one gate of the city as the French army entered by another, and thus escaped by a few minutes the fate of many English at that time on the Continent, who found themselves suddenly seized and to be confined at Verdun for the next eight years. Travelling in those days for an English house on the Continent was no very agreeable or easy task; for the French military were not particular in their abuse of England; and few Englishmen endured insult without resenting it, at whatever peril of life or imprisonment. But even now the fame of Allsopp's ale was wide-spread, and the name a sufficient passport; for Marshal Blucher, who was then a prisoner, on parole, at Hamburg, as soon as he heard that Mr. Thomas Allsopp was an Englishman, and related to a member of that firm, came up to him, expressed his admiration of the "bonne bière" of Wilson and Allsopp, and cultivated his acquaintance as long as they were both in the town. It was some pleasure to Mr. Thomas Allsopp, who had left the Marshal a prisoner when he himself escaped, to meet him again in Paris, after the battle of Waterloo, and to revive the acquaintance.

But we are digressing. We left Mr. Samuel Allsopp, amid the ruins of his household gods, deplorably situated, with his vats full, and his trade almost at an end; for during that year (1807) he had scarcely an order for a cask of ale! Under such circumstances, the only course was to wait the tide of events; so the house rested on its oars from 1806 to 1814, occasional endeavours being made to introduce the Burton ale into the general English trade; but these not being vigorously pushed, were not very successful, except as seeds sown for a future harvest. The best men of the house were, however, retained, and the establishment of clerks supported; for Mr. Samuel Allsopp, from his knowledge of German feeling, expected every year that Napoleon would be driven back. He also employed agents for his English trade; but although in this effort he met with comparatively little success, the cele-

brity of the ales of Burton nevertheless began sensibly to increase in England; and the few samples that had found their way to the metropolis had created a London demand. The trade was no longer confined to the local districts; the facilities of communication by roads and canals had now come fully into operation, and changes had taken place in the relative positions and circumstances of the Burton brewers. The old house of Musgrave and Co. had passed into the hands of the Messrs. Evans; who, having had the command of the home market ales, had damaged their trade by carelessness in buying barley, and by attempting an improvement in the old method of running ales in wooden pipes, by exchanging them for iron—a material which gave the ales a chalybeate flavour, and a thinness not agreeable to the taste of the time. Old Isaac Bass, the carrier of Nether Hall, had given over driving his cart, and more ambitiously started a waggon; while his son Michael, having first served some time in an attorney's office, married the daughter of Mr. Abraham Hoskins, set up brewing for himself, and successfully ran into Mr. John Evans's business. Mr. Worthington had from small beginnings, by honest industry, perseverance, and good conduct, obtained a fair connection; and laid the foundation of the firm now known as that of Worthington and Robinson.

In 1813 the battle of Leipsic gave token of the falling fortunes of Napoleon; and in 1814 Mr. Allsopp went to Dantzic, and thence to Warsaw, following, as the French armies retreated, the tracks of his former trade. He remained at Dantzic, and in the Baltic provinces, for two years, renewing the connections of his house, and restoring to some extent his trade. But by this time, owing to the stoppage of supply from 1806 to 1814, the demand for Burton ales was nearly destroyed. The taste of the people had changed; while the absence of good ale had led to dram-drinking. The old Polish nobility, the once great patrons of Burton beer, had been destroyed or scattered by the war, and their estates either confiscated or laid waste. In spite of these adverse circumstances, however, orders were obtained, but by no means so extensive as before the Berlin and Milan decrees. They, however, began gradually

to increase; and the prospects of Wilson and Allsopp were once more in the ascendant.

In 1820 Fortune, that hoodwinked goddess, who, in the words of Dryden,

"Gives and resumes, and smiles and frowns by fits,"

as if determined to make up for former mischief, threw her most favouring smiles upon the fortunes of Wilson and Allsopp. A new Russian tariff came out this year, by which all prohibitory duties on Burton ale were extinguished; and Mr. Poulett Thomson (afterwards Lord Sydenham), who at that time represented the eminent firm of Thomson, Bonor, and Company at St. Petersburg, sent Messrs. Wilson and Allsopp an order for five hundred barrels of Burton ale. The order was immediately executed; and the hopes of Mr. Allsopp naturally raised. He started for St. Petersburg, whence he proceeded to Moscow, visiting also all the Russian ports. He returned with the brightest expectations, and numerous promises of support; and consequently malted and brewed extensively to meet the expected demand. This he did with the greater confidence; since, although more than one brewer had attempted the new opening for trade, the Russians, like the East Indians, refused to take any other ale, whether from Burton or elsewhere, which did not bear the Wilson and Allsopp brand. But these brilliant anticipations were doomed to sudden disappointment.

In 1822 intelligence unexpectedly reached Burton that another tariff had been promulgated at St. Petersburg, by which that of 1820 was repealed, and a high import duty, amounting to a prohibition, imposed upon all English ales. Again Mr. Allsopp found himself with a large stock on hand at home, and another lying at Cronstadt, consigned to Thomson and Co., of St. Petersburg. True it was that the firm were allowed to bond the imported stock at St. Petersburg, but no mitigation of the impost was allowed; nor was it until 1826 that the transaction could be closed, when the proceeds were found not even to cover the expenses. The object of this proceeding, on the part of the Russian government, was avowedly to protect Russian agriculture; but, curiously enough, while English ale was thus heavily taxed, English porter was excepted from the

duty, it being affirmed that ale could be made in Russia, but not porter. The Messrs. Barclay became aware of the exception, pushed their trade vigorously into this new channel, and obtained the English beer business, which being thus lost to Mr. Allsopp is said to have given the first impetus to the present fortunes of the house of Barclay and Perkins, who still almost monopolize the Russian supply of London porter.

Great as was now the risk, and imminent the peril of a mighty loss which would shake the foundation of the house, the efforts of Mr. Allsopp to meet the emergency were adequate to the occasion. With the hope of effecting some modification of the injurious tariff, he sent a circular note to every member of Parliament, showing how inimical, not merely to himself and his trade, but to English interests, was this policy on the part of Russia. He lost no time in appealing to the Government, and setting his case fully before it. But neither the administration nor the members of Parliament troubled themselves about the matter, the one regarding it as a case of individual profit or loss; the others—at that time less enlightened by political economy and the statistics of trade—passed the application by unheeded; while Lord Liverpool pooh-poohed the memorial and representations of the house of Wilson and Allsopp, and the matter dropped. Mr. Allsopp might, it is true, have bribed the corrupt Russian ministry; but he did better, for he sent his brother, Mr. Thomas Allsopp, on a journey through the United Kingdom. Thus he established a home trade, which became the opening of a new career, and led to renewed prosperity and great success.

In spite of grave doubts, and much serious dissuasion among people who pretended to think that it was not legitimate and respectable for a wholesale house to adopt such means of giving publicity to their wares, the following "circular" was somewhat unwillingly, but under the pressure of circumstances, issued by Wilson and Allsopp:—

"RUSSIAN TARIFF.

"In consequence of the sudden prohibitory measures adopted by the Russian Government, affecting various exports from Great Britain,

"Wilson and Allsopp, of Burton-upon-Trent, will directly offer to the public a quantity of rich pale and fine-flavoured Ale, of uncommon strength, brewed expressly for that market, at the reduced price of 2s. 6d. per gallon, at Burton (from whence there is a water conveyance to every part of the kingdom), in casks of about forty gallons each.

"The casks will be charged twenty-one shillings each; they are new, and of the first workmanship.

"It is too well known to need comment that the Ale from this Brewery has stood pre-eminent and unrivalled in the Baltic market for the last forty years; and, without affecting to presume on the unvaried preference shown to their Ale, they do not hesitate to express their full confidence that a trial will secure general approbation. Orders addressed to them at Burton-on-Trent will be promptly attended to.

"N.B.—Noblemen and gentlemen have an opportunity of supplying themselves with this superior Ale for bottling, which, from the above circumstance, may not again occur.

"Burton-upon-Trent, March 16, 1822."

The effect of this circular was the introduction of Burton Ale to the London and English market. Hitherto its use had been confined to the few favourite haunts and London resorts of the Staffordshire people; or to such commercial men and travellers as had relished and enjoyed this ancient and much-loved beverage in its native locality. Dr. Shaw, in his "History of Staffordshire," mentions the "Peacock" in Gray's Inn Lane as one of these. But immediately after the issue of this circular, "Burton Ale houses" sprang up. Few of the present generation of Londoners but must remember their first "nip of Burton" at "Offley's," or at the Burton Ale House in the court, opposite Bow church, in Cheapside. The superior quality of the ale brewed by Wilson and Allsopp, which had been hitherto chiefly confined to the Baltic market, soon rendered it a favourite beverage; but those who admired its flavour and its purity, and wished to drink more of it, found it too heady, too sweet, and too glutinous, if not too strong. Indeed it was so rich and luscious, that if a little were spilled on a table the glass would stick to it. Old Mr. Offley, in pointing

out this circumstance to Mr. Thomas Allsopp, remarked, "Why this strong ale of yours must have honey in it!" It was this that led to the wise "discovery" by Dr. Booth, in 1830, who declared that he "could not make Burton ale without honey, resin, and plaster of Paris!" that learned doctor having tried to do so with Thames, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth and Alloa water, and gone through all the Scotch thin and weak styles of brewing, without once thinking of trying the Burton water wherewith to make Burton Ale!

This observation on the strength and sweetness of the Burton ale, as rendering it unfit for the ordinary purposes of an every-day beverage, and a closer examination of the ales in general consumption, their average nastiness, their staleness, and their almost universal impurity, consequent on the many disgusting processes of fining, and the want of long traditional knowledge and skill in their manufacture—at last brought Mr. Allsopp to the resolution of making one grand experiment towards the improvement of this old English beverage; so that, combining a less degree of sweetness with a larger admixture of the finest hop, it might preserve the essential qualities of ale, and yet, with all the fine aroma and flavour of the ancient Saxon beverage, attain to that neutral taste, in strength and quality, the possession of which had enabled the porter brewed by the great London houses to displace ales in general metropolitan consumption for nearly half a century.

In the October season of 1822 Mr. Allsopp brewed the first specimen of the improved Burton ale now so universally drank and admired; but though it came out from the tuns more bitter and less sickly, yet, from some difficulties in the new mode of manufacture, this first brewing, when drawn by the houses at Liverpool to whom it was first sold, was not thoroughly successful. A doubt arose whether it would not be necessary to take back the whole, entailing another and a second very heavy loss upon the firm, at a time when it was still struggling under the effects of the sudden blow from the total stoppage of the Russian trade. This danger, however, was happily averted by a visit paid to the Liverpool houses in person by Mr. Allsopp, who induced his customers to continue drawing the

ale, and so to give it time to mend itself, relying on the well-known property of the Burton ales to fine themselves, and to ripen and improve by the natural action of the water. A promise to receive back all that was damaged or unsaleable effected this important purpose; and, on the never-failing faith of the firm of Wilson and Allsopp, the Liverpool houses continued to draw the ale with so advantageous a result, that ultimately none was returned. The experience thus attained was, however, of the highest importance to the still grander experiment which was about to be made.

At this time (1822), the foreign trade being regarded to a certain extent extinct, the name of Wilson—no member of the family under that designation being now in the house—was withdrawn, as unnecessary to the English market; and the firm assumed the title of ALLSOPP and SONS, as it still bears.

Up to this period, among the several brewers of Burton, there had existed the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication. Most of them Mr. Allsopp had seen gradually spring from humble into important firms; nevertheless, between them and the great house of Wilson and Allsopp, no jealousies could exist. They could not venture upon competition; and as Mr. Allsopp extended his beer trade at Burton, so he enlarged the sphere of their several transactions, that the very crumbs from so vast a table furnished them a continual feast. But about this period, as the English market became more available to his competitors, some of them, strange to say, forgot that, in their endeavours to injure their rival, they were in fact injuring themselves, by bringing the Burton ales into disrepute with the public.

It was at this moment of gloomy prospects and anticipated evils, when the hard-earned reputation and honourably-preserved credit of the great firm of Wilson and Allsopp seemed to be threatened by a disastrous confluence of untoward circumstance, beyond the capacity of the greatest commercial prudence to foresee, or the highest courage and conduct to avert,—it was at this moment that a ray of light broke upon their darkening fortunes from the East, soon to brighten into the full glow of prosperity. It has, indeed, been the good

fortune of Burton, that whatever seemed most dangerous to the welfare of the house of Allsopp and Sons has been, in reality, but the germ of some new success; and invariably led to new openings, as well for the aggrandizement of their operations as to the enlargement of the commercial enterprise and trade of their native town. But let it be observed by the reader that in all these successes there was no chance, no mere accident; that it was the able method in which the business of this great brewing firm was conducted; the extensive scale of its operations; the diligent manner in which partner after partner had been trained by study and travel to the conduct of affairs; the long-accredited character of their manufacture, and the studious care with which that character was maintained;—all these, superadded to the solid practical foundation established by the first Benjamin Wilson, and consolidated by his successors, enabled that house to avail itself of every opportunity, and to carry out every possible germ of advantage to its full development of success.

Mr. Allsopp, though a man of high courage, and with a spirit as stanch as ever warmed the breast of a true English gentleman, felt, nevertheless, somewhat daunted by the sudden obstacles that had risen in his path. While in this frame of mind he went to London early in the year 1822, intent, as we have before mentioned, on the advancement of his trade in the metropolitan districts, and with the object of introducing the new ale which he was then contemplating, first in the northern districts, and afterwards generally throughout England.

It happened at this time, that dining with an East Indian Director, Mr. Marjoribanks, in the course of conversation he happened to make some remark on the late occurrences in Russia, the neglect of his remonstrances by the government, and the gloomy prospects of his house from the loss of their European trade.

"But why not, Allsopp," observed Mr. Marjoribanks, "leave the cold climates, and try the warmer regions of the earth? Why do you not make an attempt on the Indian market?"

"I never heard of it."

"There are 5,000 hogsheads of English beer sent to Madras and Bengal every year; and, what is more to your purpose, it is a trade that can never be lost; for the climate is too hot for brewing, unless at a distance so great that the carriage must eat up all the profits; and no tariff can ever affect you. We are all now dependent upon Hodgson, who has given offence to most of our merchants in India. But your Burton ale, so strong and sweet, will not suit our market."

Here Mr. Marjoribanks rang the bell, and directed his butler to bring in a bottle of Hodgson's ale, that had been to India and back. The butler poured out a glass for Mr. Allsopp, who held it up to the light, and then, tasting it, exclaimed, "Is this the Indian Beer? I can brew it."

"If you can, it will be a fortune to you," was Mr. Marjoribank's reply.

On Mr. Allsopp's return to Burton-on-Trent, sitting one morning in his counting-house, one of the men came to tell him, "There's a hamper for you, sir, just come down by the mail from London." On opening this it was found to contain a dozen of ale; and with some joke about "coals to Newcastle"—"a present of ale to Samuel Allsopp at Burton!"—he took up a bottle on which was written "Hodgson's Indian beer." Little did Mr. Allsopp imagine that he had at that moment in his hand the key to a colossal business, and the foundation of the future great prosperity of Burton-upon-Trent.

Mr. Marjoribanks' recommendation, and the evident importance which that gentleman attached to it, by forwarding this sample, forcibly impressed the mind of the great brewer; so, setting aside the sample of malt which he was then carefully examining, he directed "Job Goodhead" to be summoned.

Now this Job Goodhead was the maltster of the house; and though apprenticed to Mr. Benjamin Wilson, in 1803, is still alive, as if to laugh to scorn what some have endeavoured to make out—the fatal consequences of drinking much Burton ale. Job Goodhead, too, is as hearty a fellow as any in

Messrs. Allsopp's employ, where he still fills his old post; and as he delights to tell the story:—

"Job," said Mr. Allsopp, holding out to him a glass of the Indian beer, "can you dry your malt that colour?"

"Yes, sir," answered Job, at the same time tasting the beer, and sputtering it out fast, for Job was of the old school, and preferred his ale strong and sweet. "But, sir,"—

"Never mind the taste, Job. Can you dry your malt to this colour?—are you sure?"

"Quite sure, sir."

"Then do so." The great brewer and his hereditary maltster set to work at once; and the first specimen of the great pale ale and bitter beer trade of Burton, now extending to so many thousand hogsheads, was *brewed in a teapot*.

From that moment many anxious hours were spent by Mr. Allsopp in attaining the right colour, quality, and flavour. But more than this was requisite. The consideration of freight by canal to London, whence most of the Indian beer was shipped through the commanders of vessels in the Indian trade sailing from that port, then amounted to upwards of sixty shillings per ton (a charge treble that until lately charged as freight from Calcutta to London and Liverpool). The carriage, too, was conducted at great risk to the ales, since at many locks on the way there were certain privileged thieves, who drew off quantities of wines, spirits, or beers, and made up the "waste" with water! Then, too, the casks must be made very strong, of the same material and size (fifty-four gallons), so that no difference might cause prejudice or create inconvenience, and this involved a large additional outlay. Lastly, so far as trade obstacles were concerned, in addition to our English Excise officers, there were "the tasters" in the Indian ports, who had the right of passing or rejecting all ale and beer consigned to the Indian market. What other difficulties were to be surmounted can be judged from the accompanying extract from a "Circular on the Beer Trade of India," published in 1829, by the Messrs. Tulloch and Co., of Calcutta:—

"Beer has for many years been an article of extensive consumption in Bengal; and it is highly probable that an increase would take place, were it not for the very high price to which it frequently rises. The great fluctuation in the price of this article has been caused entirely by the irregularity of the supply, and the plans laid down by Hodgson and some of his monied neighbours to keep all others out of the market.

"So entirely dependent were the public upon this brewer, that he in a great degree regulated the price and the quantity imported. Others who attempted to introduce the beer into the market were compelled to withdraw, having lost very considerably by all their speculations; for Hodgson, when he knew that other brewers were shipping, sent out large quantities, and thereby reduced prices to such low rates as to frighten his rivals from making second shipments. Having effected this, the following years he had the market to himself, and prices rose occasionally under the short supply to 180 rupees and even 200 rupees a hogshead. He thereby made up for the sacrifice of the previous year, and effectually deterred others from prosecuting their speculations in this market. Another thing in his favour, and which operated for a long time, was the high repute in which *his name* stood for beer; so much so, that no other of a good quality was bought by the retailers, as they could not dispose of it."

These, then, were the obstructions that beset Mr. Samuel Allsopp's first attempt to compete in the East Indian market—obstacles whose existence could only be learnt by experience, and of that nature which too often destroys the finest theoretical calculations of a system of business.

But this was not the case with Samuel Allsopp. His was the head to conceive, and his the hand to execute; and his energies, once directed to a practical point, fully achieved its completion. He saw no difficulties which time, perseverance, resolution, consistency, and steady, unswerving honour could not overcome; he went on straight to his point, when once his course was determined; and having entered upon an undertaking he never failed to carry it out.

It is indeed interesting, in more than a commercial point of view, to peruse Mr. Allsopp's letters on this subject to Messrs. Gladstone, and Moss and Cossack, of Liverpool, as well as to Petrie and Chapman of London, the houses by whom his first small consignments were shipped; how he communicates with Mr. Smith, of Gainsborough, as his ales pass down the Trent; how he asks Mr. Blanchard to watch them through Fennings' Wharf. But with these we will not trouble the reader. The perils of the inland navigation were safely passed, and the first shipment of Allsopp's Pale Ale, now the staple consumption of the East Indies, was per *Bencoolen*, Cropper, Benson, and Co., 12 butts 14 hogsheads, 27th of December, consigned to Mathew Gisborne and Co.; and per *Seaforth*, 10 butts 12 hogsheads, or less than 1,800 gallons in the whole! A third and smaller consignment went out by Mr. Robert Chapman. The results were not encouraging. The first consignment met with obstacles from the "tasters." It was sold at 20 rupees per hogshead—the current rate for Hodgson's being 25 rupees. The second consignment was an improvement, for Messrs. Gladstone and Co. sold the same beer at 40 rupees per hogshead within a week of the same time, and the remaining shipment brought the same price. Mr. Allsopp felt disappointed on receiving his first letters from India, but others soon arrived to restore his confidence, as will be seen from the following notices, which, as interesting records of the small commencement of a vast trade, we shall now place before our readers.

Mr. Gisborne, in a letter dated Calcutta, July 16, 1823, after stating that the price of ales in India was less than the cost price in England, evinces considerable interest in the extension of the trade, and recommends that authority should be given him to bottle beer after its arrival. He further reports the general dulness of the trade and the large supply of Hodgson's ales on hand. In another letter he bears testimony to the excellence of the Burton ale; and the following statements from Mr. J. C. Bailton, of Calcutta, in 1824, are interesting, as showing the changes the Burton ale underwent after bottling in a tropical climate:—

"I have watched the whole progress of your ale, having

carefully bottled it in strong English Quart Ketches. I opened some in a month after bottling, and found it much decomposed, of a dark colour, turbid, and the taste quite altered. The third month there was a considerable change for the better; it began to clear, and assume a sparkling appearance, like champagne. At the end of the eighth month it was excellent indeed, of a bright amber colour, clear as crystal, and a very peculiar fine flavour. The only thing it required was a little more bitter, and, if possible, a little less degree of strength. I am ignorant myself of the process of brewing, but I believe I am correct in saying it wanted Hop, and required less Malt.

"With reference to the loss you have sustained in your first shipments, you must have been prepared for that, had you known *that* market as well as I do; here almost everything is *name*, and Hodgson's has so long stood without a rival, that it was a matter of astonishment how your ale could have stood a competition; but that it did is a fact, and I myself was present when a butt of yours fetched 136 rupees, and a butt of Hodgson's only 80 rupees at a public sale."

Mr. Lord, a wine merchant, writing from Calcutta, further states that his customers have unanimously spoken of the flavour and general qualities of Allsopp's ale in the highest terms, and recommends that no change should be made in the process of brewing.

The "Remarks on the Beer Trade of India," published at Calcutta, furnish us, incidentally, with some particulars of the circumstances of the Beer Trade at this period, that materially operated in Mr. Allsopp's favour at this date, 1824:—"The commanders and officers of the Indiamen were, up till 1824, Hodgson's best customers; his Beer formed one of the principal articles in their Investments, and it was customary for him to give them credit for twelve or eighteen months, if not for the whole amount of their purchase, for at least one half of it. But about this time" (triumphant, we may suppose, at his imagined victory over Mr. Allsopp) "he not only raised his price from £20 to £24, but refused to sell on any terms

except for cash, even to parties of unquestionable credit. This naturally drove many of his best customers to other brewers; but Hodgson & Co., confident of the power they had over the market, sent the Beer out for sale on their own account; thus they, in a short time, became Brewers, Shippers, Merchants, and even retailers. These proceedings naturally and justly excited hostile feelings in those engaged in the Indian Trade at home; while the public here, seeing at last the complete control which Hodgson endeavoured to maintain over the market, turned their faces against him, and gave encouragement to other Brewers who fortunately sent out excellent Beer."

Mr. Hodson (Calcutta, Aug. 6th, 1824) assures Mr. Allsopp, that so long as he continues to supply ales of such a quality as those sent, he cannot fail of success; he further informs him that they are in great request, and selling at 90 rupees the hogshead, while Hodgson's are at 75 rupees.

Captain Chapman (Nov. 13, 1824) informs Mr. Allsopp that his ale has turned out well; and advises a larger shipment next season, as a scarcity might then be expected. His brother says that he can speak most favourably of the ale, and expresses his belief that with perseverance Mr. Allsopp will obtain a very considerable portion of the trade; he further states that it is almost universally preferred by all old Indians to Hodgson's; and suggests that it might be made rather more bitter.

Messrs. Gordon & Co. (Nov. 6, 1824) after remarking that at first no offers were made for the beer, go on to state, "after bottling off a portion, which was approved of by our friends, the demand for this article has since been very great, and we have now orders to some extent for this ale. We would, therefore, strenuously recommend Mr. Allsopp to make further consignments of it; and we have every reason to believe he will have a fair competition with Messrs. Hodgson & Co."

Encouraged by these favourable accounts, Mr. Allsopp applied himself with vigour to meet the growing demand; and the following shipments, which took place in the interim,

show how the trade between Burton and the East Indies made a slow but steady advance:—

- Petrie, Chapman & Co., London, 14 hhds. ale, February 20, 1824.
 Captain Edwards, London, 20 hhds. ale, February 21, 1824.
 Daniel Willink, Liverpool, 20, hhds. ale, November 8, 1824.
 Plummer & Wilson, London, 20 hhds. ale, December 7, 1824.
 Cropper, Benson, & Co., Liverpool, 30 hhds. ale, December 23, 1824; 20 hhds. ale, April 11, 1825.
 Captain J. Boulderson, London, 2 hhds. ale, December 23, 1824, Calcutta; 2 hhds. ale, May 6, 1825, Calcutta.
 J. Thornhill, London, 1 hhd. ale, December 23, 1824, Calcutta.
 Captain A. Nairne, London, 20 hhds. ale, January 1, 1825.
 T. & J. Brocklebank, Liverpool, 10 hhds. ale, January 28, 1825.
 Rev. F. I. Moore, King's Bromley, 20 hhds. ale, January 24, 1825, Buenos Ayres.
 Captain G. Probyn, Minerva, 20 hhds. ale, March 5, 1825.
 Captain C. Biden, London, 6 hhds. ale, March 11, 1825.
 Captain Beadle, London, 20 hhds. ale, May 6, 1825.
 Holliwell & Highfield, Liverpool, 20 hhds. ale, April 18, 1825.
 Taylor, Potter, & Co., Liverpool, 50 hhds. ale, June 6, 1825.
 Captain A. Chapman, London, 100 hhds. ale, May 6, 1825.
 Adams, Robinson, & Co., Jamaica, 10½ casks ale, December 16, 1825.
 Robert Gladstone & Co., Liverpool, 12 butts and 95 hhds. ale, February 28, 1824, Calcutta; 30 hhds. ale, May 3, 1825, Calcutta and Bombay.
 J. Gladstone, Grant, & Wilson, Liverpool, 97 hhds. ale, November 8, 1824, Calcutta; 50 hhds. ale, December 3, 1824, Bombay.
 John Lord, Liverpool, 20 hhds. ale, May 13, 1825, Bombay.

These good opinions still continued to increase, and Allsopp's pale ale now became an article of standard value in the market, equal, if not superior, to that of any competitor.

A letter from Captain Probyn (Oct. 12, 1825) gives a most favourable account of the success of the Burton ale. He states that a large number of passengers invariably preferred Allsopp's to Hodgson's ale; and "many who had been long in India, declared it to be preferable to any they had ever tasted in the East." He remarks that it possesses a "peculiar flavour which, in his opinion, far surpasses that of Hodgson's;" than which, he also informs Mr. Allsopp, it brings a higher price, realizing 1 r. 90, while his competitors but 1 r. 70 to 75.

The Burton ale was not regularly quoted in the *Price Current*, and the merchants of Calcutta, seeing that there was no longer any uncertainty in the supply, and now become fully aware of the high commercial integrity and business-like conduct of the house of Allsopp & Sons, came forward almost universally in their favour; they saw in their conduct a guarantee for the continuance of the supply; and a communication signed by the heads of the Calcutta houses was sent to Mr. Allsopp, enclosing orders to a considerable amount. They, at the same time, offered the following advice:—

“We trust our desires to do justice to your excellent ale, as well as the natural regard every one has for his own interest, and the high per centage we have offered you—much beyond the usual prime cost of your ale—upon every hogshead that shall be delivered to us as above stated, may induce you at once to accept the offer, and to take the utmost care, and every possible precaution to insure our receiving from you ale of the very best quality. Indeed, we think we need not urge you to be cautious in sending us your very best ale, for we are sure you will do your best, for your own as well as our sakes, if you are desirous, as we believe you are, of fully introducing your ale, not only at this Presidency, but throughout the East Indies.”

But the final triumph yet remained. In *The Calcutta Weekly Price Current* of November 4, 1826, the following entry occurs:—

	“Rupees.
ALE—Hodgson, per hogshead	170
Allsopp's Burton „	170

No other English or Foreign ales are quoted.

Thus, in four short seasons, had Allsopp's Burton Ale achieved a firm footing for itself, against all prejudice and all opposition offered by a house which for nearly half a century had commanded a monopoly of the East Indian trade in beer, and had established a predilection in its favour amounting to a prejudice among a people who are not readily given to change.

In 1830, following the example by which each generation

of this eminent firm had been carefully trained to business, Mr. Henry Allsopp, the present head of the house of Allsopp and Sons, then a youth of nineteen or twenty, who had received his commercial education in the house of Messrs. Gladstone & Co., of Liverpool, proceeded to India, where he opened agencies that largely extended the transactions of the firm, and returned home to receive the reward which his father had promised, that, if diligent and successful, he would immediately give him a partnership.

But, in the meantime, that shadow which invariably accompanies greatness, even in commerce, had not failed to follow in the footsteps of Mr. Allsopp's success. The field he had so painfully and honourably won was invaded by competitors, who, while they denied his exertions, and invidiously endeavoured to place obstacles in his path, were ever the first to follow in his wake; as if (when he had made the path to walk easily and exultingly along) they had discovered the road, and undergone their share of the perils and toils of the difficult enterprise.

"The painful bee, who many a bitter shower
And storm had felt, far from his hive away,
To seek the sweetest honey-bearing flower
That might be found, and was the pride of May,
Here, lighting on the fairest he might spy,
Is beat by drones, and wasp, and butterfly.

So men there are, sometimes, of good desert,
Who painfully have laboured for the hive,
Yet must they, with their merit stand apart,
And give a far inferior leave to thrive :
Or be, perhaps, if gotten into grace,
By waspish envy beaten out of place."

PEACHAM'S "*Minerva Britannia*," 1612.

But this disingenuity was not successful; nor did they then, nor will they ever, succeed in "beating" the house of Allsopp and Sons "out of place." What we here only cursorily allude to, may be gathered from the following extract of a letter addressed to Mr. Henry Allsopp, previous to his departure for India, by Mr. Lyon, whose brother is now a partner in the

house of Messrs. Bass & Co., at Burton-on-Trent. It is dated Calcutta, 12th November, 1828 :—

“I am very happy to see that your Beer is so likely to meet with good demand for the future: it now sells for the same price as Hodgson’s, and if you only keep up to the quality, you will do very well. We had a lot by the *John Taylor*, some of Hodgson’s, and some of Bass & Radcliffe’s: we thought the latter had been of your brewing; but when the customer received it, he would not take it to acct. under 25 p. c. discount, which we were obliged to agree to. I would advise your father to ship his Beer in the month of Novr. or latter end of October, to arrive here in March or April; it is then our hottest season, and the quantity of Beer then consumed is tremendous. Your Beer is certainly a most delightful beverage during the hot season; it is always cooled with saltpetre before it is drank; we can make it by this article as cold as ice.”

Little now remains but to state that the unqualified success of Allsopp’s Pale Ale in the East Indies has continued without alteration to the present day; and the benefit rendered to the Indian community by their immense importation is thus recorded in the “Calcutta Remarks :”—

“The average consumption is 6,714 hogsheads (in 1829). Of this quantity about one-fourth went to Madras, and the rest to Bengal. Five thousand hogsheads may therefore be safely stated to be the annual consumption of this part of India, and there is reason to suppose that the demand would increase if the price was steady, and the beer kept within the reach of the poorer classes of the community. But whilst it fluctuates from six to fifteen rupees a dozen it is not likely that the consumption will be increased; on the contrary, if beer happened to be dear just now some thousands would be compelled to give it up, and” (a climax which seems singular enough) “take to drinking French clarets, which are and have been selling at from three to eighteen rupees a dozen.”

The careful arrangements of Messrs. Allsopp have secured this desideratum to their Indian customers since they entered *the trade*; and we believe we may confidently say that since

the year 1824 no Englishman has been reduced to the sad necessity of drinking French claret for want of a draught of good, sound, wholesome, and refreshing English Burton beer.

We have thus given to the world, for the first time, a full report of the great achievement of Mr. Allsopp's life, the establishment of the East Indian trade in ale, and its immense development. Of this not only he himself but the whole brewing trade of Burton were, thanks to his exertions, reaping the advantage; for then, as now, the error was rife, that all beer and ale brewed at Burton was good, if not equally excellent—truly, a sad mistake. We will now proceed briefly to notice the English trade in Allsopp's Burton ale, which has of late years, from the facility of communication, been largely on the increase, and has grown into a gigantic consumption.

In the mid-triumph of the success of Mr. Allsopp's improved Burton ales, a circumstance occurred which, while it led to an appeal to the law courts in behalf of the integrity of the Burton ale, was seized upon with avidity by those who, with malicious spite, envied the success of Mr. Allsopp, as a means to disparage the actual founder of their trade and their prosperity. We give the case as reported in the newspapers of the period:—

(From the *Times*, February 9, 1830.)

“COURT OF KING'S BENCH, WESTMINSTER, FEB. 8.

“*Ex parte the Brewers of Burton-upon-Trent.*

“Mr. Campbell (with whom was Mr. Hill) was instructed to move for a rule to show cause why a criminal information should not be filed against Robert Baldwin and Charles Cradock, booksellers in London, for a libel published by them. He made the application on behalf of a respectable body of men, who were libelled, not by name but as part of a well-known class of tradesmen. The court had interposed its authority on a similar occasion on behalf of the brewers of London, against whom an imputation had been made, that they mixed improper ingredients in the manufacture of their porter; and a rule for a criminal information, in that case, was discharged merely on the grounds that the affidavits did not state that no unlawful

ingredients were mixed with the porter before it was delivered to the customer. The present applicants were the body of Brewers at Burton-upon-Trent, a numerous class of tradesmen employing a large capital, and engaged in a very extensive trade not only in England, Ireland, and Scotland, but on the continent of Europe, in the colonies, and the East and West Indies. They complained of an attack made upon them in a publication called 'The Art of Brewing,' which, coming forth as it did under the sanction of every high authority, was likely to produce the most mischievous consequences. [The publication in question is one of the treatises (No. 60) published under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.] He (Mr. Campbell) would undertake to say, on his own authority, that many of the eminent persons whose names gave a sanction to its publication were wholly unacquainted with this article, and none of them probably had read it to the present moment. In part of 'The Art of Brewing,' after a panegyric on Scotch ale, was this paragraph:—

"Lord Tenterden: A panegyric on Scotch ale, Mr. Campbell?

"Mr. Campbell: Yes, my Lord; the author, no doubt, comes from that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland, and his object is evidently to encourage the sale of Scotch ale. He says, 'With respect to unlawful ingredients, we have already said that the Scotch are less to be complained of than their brethren of the south.' Then follows the chapter on Burton ale, in which this paragraph occurs:—'Two ounces of salt of steel, dried until it becomes white, are infused into twenty barrels of liquor before mashing, that quantity of liquor being usually allowed for the first mash of ten quarters of malt. . . . Twenty barrels of this liquor are then turned upon ten quarters of malt, in the ordinary way. . . . The quantity of hops is usually about six pounds to the quarter of malt, and the time of boiling from two to two and a half hours. From ten to fifteen minutes before turning off, a quantity of honey, at least equivalent to a pound per barrel, is put into the copper.

"Lord Tenterden: Honey is not an unwholesome ingredient.

"Mr. Campbell: Not unwholesome, my lord, but it is

expressly forbidden by the act of Parliament, as stated in another part of this very publication.

"Mr. Justice Littledale: Is it forbidden by name?"

"Mr. Campbell said he believed it was; it certainly was an unlawful ingredient.

"The article then went on thus: 'With respect to the fermentation, the tun is pitched at 64 or 65 degrees, with a pound of solid yeast per barrel. The first head is skimmed to rid the wort of the impurities which usually float upon the surface. After this the tun is generally kept covered, except when it is roused, which it is twice or thrice a-day. In from forty-eight to sixty hours it ought to rise to 80 degrees or more; and when the gravity is about 12 pounds, it is usual to put half a gallon of bean flour and four ounces of sal-prunella, previously well roused together, in a portion of the worts, to every twenty barrels. The whole is then cleansed into barrels, which are filled up every two hours, until they cease to discharge any yeast. Should the fermenting-tun fall in heat, some recommend that two ounces and a half of jalap should be added for every twenty barrels of the wort.

"'Immediately after the casks have ceased working, six ounces of unburnt but bruised sulphate of lime, mixed up with an ounce of powdered black rosin, are put into each barrel.' Here, then, it was asserted that the ingredients of Burton ale, besides salt of steel, honey, and prunella, were jalap, sulphate of lime, and black rosin. That all these were unlawful ingredients was stated in the first part of the same publication, in a chapter on unlawful ingredients. Sulphate of lime, in particular, was stated to be a most deleterious and pernicious ingredient. In the first part of the publication was this sentence: 'Jalap, to the extent of even two or three ounces to twenty barrels, is employed by certain brewers in the gyle-tun, but the *rationale* of its action is to us unknown.' Again, 'The handful of half-boiled hops, impregnated with wort, which is usually put into the bung-hole of each cask by the ale-brewer, when stirring it in his cellar, answers the same purpose; and some, more rigidly attentive, insert privately, at the same time, about an ounce of powdered black rosin, previ-

ously mixed with beer, which swims on the surface, but after a time is partially absorbed.' Of this we shall have again to speak when we treat of Burton ale. 'The brewers in one quarter of the island are in the practice of putting sulphate of iron (previously dried to whiteness) in the liquor of their first mash.' The learned counsel said he was furnished with an affidavit which stated the belief of the deponent that the person alluded to in the words 'brewers in one quarter of the island,' were the brewers of Burton ale, at Burton-upon-Trent; and that the passages alluded to were intended to impute to them that they used unlawful and disgusting ingredients in their process of brewing. He had, besides, affidavits from every brewer of Burton-upon-Trent, *with one single exception*; many of those went so far back as fifty years, the son having succeeded the father, and the father the grandfather, in the manufacture of what is called Burton ale. In all the affidavits it was sworn that in the making of this ale nothing was used but malt, hops, and water. The affidavit of Mr. Radcliffe, one of the brewers, was in these words: 'That he hath never himself used, or suffered to be used, nor have there ever been used, or suffered or permitted to be used, nor have there ever to his knowledge been permitted to be used in his brewery, in the manufacture of Burton ale, any of the unlawful ingredients mentioned in the said passages, viz., salt of steel, honey, bean flour, sal-prunella, jalap, sulphate of lime, and black rosin; nor have there at any time been mixed with such ale, to the deponent's knowledge and belief, any such ingredient or ingredients while such ale has been on the deponent's premises, or in his power or control, or at any other time whatsoever; but, on the contrary, the deponent saith that he hath never used, or suffered to be used, in brewing the said Burton ale, nor has there ever, to his knowledge and belief, been used by any of the said brewers or their servants, or any other person whomsoever, in the brewing thereof, any other materials than malt, hops, and water; nor doth he know or believe, nor hath he any reason to believe or suspect, that any of the unlawful and disgusting ingredients before specified have ever been used for brewing Burton ale, or at any time mixed therewith, either

previous to or during the progress of brewing thereof, or after the said ale had been brewed, or at any other time whatsoever.' The learned counsel said he must go on to mention that the affidavits which their lordships saw denied in the most express terms that in the manufacture of Burton ale any other ingredient was used than malt, hops, and water, stated that there was an inferior description of beer brewed for the supply of the small public-houses in and near Burton-upon-Trent, and in that article, which was brewed every month in the year, it was sometimes found necessary, in very hot weather, to introduce some wheaten flour and common salt, for the purpose of assisting the fermentation; but these ingredients were never used in the manufacture of the Burton ale.

"The statement in Mr. Radcliffe's affidavit is this: 'That in the brewing of the said Burton ale for exportation, and for the persons living at a distance from the brewery, the same is and always has been brewed, as the deponent has before stated, with and from malt, hops, and water only; but the deponent saith that he, and his partner also, have an inferior sort of ale for the ordinary and common consumption in small public-houses in or near Burton-upon-Trent, and that in very hot weather, which sometimes affects the process of fermentation, for the purpose of assisting such fermentation in the said inferior ale, and preventing the same being wholly spoiled, a small quantity of wheat flour and of common salt, and also a small quantity of isinglass, have been necessarily used; but the deponent saith that so seldom doth the necessity of this occur that it hath not arisen, nor has any isinglass been used in the brewing of Burton ale, in the deponent's or his said partner's brewery within the last five years.' The learned counsel went on to say that it was shown that the publication in question was likely to be very injurious to the persons on whose behalf the present application was made. The subject, it appears, had been much discussed among their customers, some of whom had made complaints, in consequence of the statements put forth in this publication, 3,000 copies of which had already been circulated. It was immaterial to consider what the object of the publishers could be. Probably they had been imposed

upon by the individual who wrote the article. The applicants in coming to this court, were not actuated by vindictive motives, but they were desirous of justifying their characters, and were induced to appeal to the court in the hope their lordships would grant them that protection which, on a former occasion, they had offered to the brewers of London.

"Lord Tenterden, after inquiring whether the learned counsel was furnished with the necessary affidavits as to publication, and being answered in the affirmative, said, 'I think you may take a rule to show cause.' Rule *nisi* granted."

Of their intention to make this application the Burton brewers had taken care *not* to give Mr. Allsopp any notice; but the Burton brewers without the firm of Allsopp and Sons were like the tragedy of *Hamlet* with the part of Hamlet omitted. Mr. Allsopp was naturally indignant, and immediately wrote to the *Times* as follows:—

(From the *Times* of Saturday, February 13, 1830.)

"To the Editor of the *Times*."

"Sir,—Finding in your paper the particulars of a motion in the Court of King's Bench for a rule to show cause why a criminal information should not be filed against Messrs. Baldwin and Cradock, booksellers, London, for a libel upon the whole body of Burton brewers, I beg to address you on the subject. The libel complained of was stated to be published in a book entitled 'The Library of Useful Knowledge,' and headed 'The Art of Brewing.' The learned counsel who made the motion is represented in your paper to have stated that 'he had affidavits from every brewer in Burton-upon-Trent, with one single exception; and in such affidavits it was sworn that in making of this (Burton) ale no other ingredients were used than malt, hops, and water,' I feel myself called upon to acknowledge that my firm formed such exception. But, sir, the 'exception' did not arise because a satisfactory affidavit could not have been made by myself and partner; but because I was absent on a journey, and had not an accurate knowledge of the subject till after the application was made to the court, and so

much 'so, that until yesterday I was unacquainted with the name of the work in which the publication complained of appeared.

"The indistinct information I had received was by letter from my youngest son (not my partner), who gained his intelligence from conversation with one of the Burton brewers; and myself and partner, considering that the libel must have proceeded from some insignificant and calumnious brewer, we deemed it unworthy our notice, knowing that the persons in England, Ireland, Scotland, the East and West Indies, North and South America, the Continent of Europe, &c., whom we supply, are convinced of the purity of our ale.

"The brewery in which I am engaged has been an establishment for brewing ale upwards of seventy years, and I derived the business from my uncle, who previously carried on the business in conjunction with his father.

"Feeling it due to the character of myself and partner to prevent any injurious conclusion being drawn from the circumstance of not having joined in the application to the court, and made an affidavit on the subject, I beg to send the following affidavit, sworn before Sir Oswald Moseley, bart., as to the falsity of the statement contained in 'The Library of Useful Knowledge.'—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"SAMUEL ALLSOPP.

"Burton-on-Trent, Feb. 11.

" 'Samuel Allsopp, of Burton-upon-Trent, in the county of Stafford, brewer, carrying on business with Charles James Allsopp, the son of this deponent, under the firm of Allsopp and Son, maketh oath and saith, that previously to his partnership with his said son, he did not, nor did any other person, nor has he, or any other person, with his knowledge, privity, or procurement, since such partnership, used on his premises, or elsewhere, in the brewing of ale, any of the unlawful ingredients which this deponent believes are mentioned in a work entitled 'The Library of Useful Knowledge' as being used in the brewing of Burton ale. And this deponent further saith, that there has not been used in the brewing a preparation of

Burton ale by this deponent and his said copartner, or any person employed by deponent and his said copartner, or either of them, any ingredients except malt, hops, and water.

“ ‘SAMUEL ALLSOPP.

“ ‘Sworn at Rolleston, in the county of Stafford, this 11th day of February, 1830.

“ ‘OSWALD MOSELEY,

“ ‘Justice of the Peace for the County of Stafford.’ ”

Nor did Mr. Allsopp, once aroused, discontinue his exertions, until, as we shall presently see, he had brought the matter in its true light before the courts of law and the public.

(From the *Morning Herald*, Monday, Feb. 15, 1830.)

“ COURT OF KING’S BENCH, WESTMINSTER.

“ *The King v. Baldwin and Cradock.*

“ In this case the rule was enlarged till next term, and, on the application of Mr. Campbell, leave was given to Mr. Allsopp, a Burton ale brewer, and Mr. Cooper, a chemist, who has lately analyzed his ale at Burton, to file their affidavits, stating what ingredients were used in the manufacture of this liquor. On applying for the rule *nisi*, Mr. Campbell had stated that he had the affidavits of all the Burton ale brewers except one, and that one—a Mr. Allsopp, who was the only brewer whose affidavit was not filed—was very anxious to state what ingredients he used in making his ale. To this application Mr. Brougham, who is counsel for the defendants, made no objection; nor did the plaintiffs’ counsel object to the enlargement of the rule, as applied for by Mr. Brougham. At the suggestion of Mr. Justice Littledale, Mr. Campbell said he would get the affidavits of the foreman and other persons employed by Mr. Allsopp. Lord Tenterden said this was a good advertisement for the Burton ale brewers.”

We may here point out, that of these mixtures of salt, *isinglass*, and wheaten flour, the ale of Messrs. Allsopp and

Sons were always, and are still, entirely innocent. The "pepper and salt," so wittily alluded to by *Punch*, had no relation to *their* ales. Their ales "fine" themselves without the addition of any filthy mixtures. The result of this foolish slander is thus related:—

(From the *Times*, May 11, 1830.)

"COURT OF KING'S BENCH, WESTMINSTER.—Sittings in Banco.

"The King v. Baldwin and another.

"This, it will be recollected, was an application on the part of the brewers of Burton-upon-Trent for leave to file a criminal information against Messrs. Baldwin and Cradock for a libel contained in one of the treatises, 'The Art of Brewing,' published under the sanction of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. The publication imputed, or was supposed to impute, to the Burton ale brewers the use of unlawful ingredients in the manufacture of their ale. In support of the application affidavits were made by all the brewers, and by the clerks and foremen of most of them, denying, in the most positive terms, the use of the ingredients mentioned, and stating expressly that the Burton ale sent from their establishments was brewed solely from malt, hops, and water. There were, besides, the affidavits of Mr. Field and Mr. Offley, of Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, and other well-known dealers in Burton ale in London, all swearing to the genuineness of the article. In addition to these, an affidavit was produced (after the criminal information had been moved for) from an eminent chemist, who had been sent down to Burton to analyze the ale, and also the water from the springs in Burton, stating that he believed the ale to be a pure malt liquor, and that the particular flavour and properties of it resulted from the peculiar quality of the natural water found at Burton, and the mode of brewing there. Copies of these affidavits were laid before a sub-committee of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge; and on the part of the brewers an offer was made to allow a chemist to be appointed by the committee to analyze the ale when

brewed, and the water with which it was brewed, to show that nothing was to be found in the ale but what was also in the malt and hops, and in the springs of water from which the brewers obtained their supply. In the meantime the proceedings were suspended.

"Mr. Brougham mentioned the case this morning. It had, he said, been allowed to stand over last term, in order that inquiry might be made into the facts. He had now to state, with respect to these Burton ale brewers, who were extremely respectable in their business, as well as generally, that upon inquiry it had turned out that the statement made in 'The Art of Brewing,' published by the society, was incorrect. He ought to state, in justice to the brewers, that no men could be more anxious to give every opportunity for inquiry. They had subjected their liquor to tests, and not only done that, but had opened their brewhouses to the examination of persons appointed by the society. It was, however, found that facts very soon appeared which rendered the inquiry unnecessary. It also appeared that the learned person, the author of the treatise in question, who was a practical man (being a brewer of twenty years' standing), had been misled upon the subject by circumstances which might have misled anybody. He said he could not make Burton ale with any quantity of malt and hops without putting other ingredients; but he could make Burton ale, similar to that of these brewers, if he were allowed to add certain saline impregnations, chiefly gypsum. Now it so happened (though the fact was not known to the author at the time the treatise was written) that the springs at Burton ran over a rock of that substance, which gave them a natural impregnation; and that circumstance had not only misled him, but, as the court would easily perceive, would have misled any other person upon the same subject. It had been agreed that the result of this inquiry, together with the statement of the very proper mode which the brewers had taken in the whole business (the affair being sifted, and they being wholly free from any charge, though the statement was not made as a charge against them *offensively*), should be stated in all the future editions of

'The Art of Brewing' by the society. This would satisfy the prosecutors; and it had been consented, upon this statement, and the publication being undertaken to be made, that the rule should be discharged.

"Mr. Campbell said, that those he represented had no vindictive feeling against the respectable persons who patronized the publication in question; their only object was to vindicate their character, which was supposed to have been seriously attacked. The affidavits, which had been made by every individual brewer, and every person concerned in the breweries of the town of Burton-upon-Trent, stated that nothing but malt, hops, and water were used in the manufacture of this article. There were also the affidavits of several chemists who had analyzed it. His learned friend (Mr. Brougham) had very handsomely stated that the brewers had given every opportunity to the society to send persons to inspect the mode in which the process was conducted; and he had also stated that the inquiry had been perfectly satisfactory. It was to be hoped, therefore, that the article containing the contradiction might be as extensively and usefully circulated as the libel.

"Mr. Brougham: I should also state that we are satisfied there is nothing deleterious in the matter with which the water is impregnated.

"Lord Tenterden: Very well; the lovers of Burton ale may now drink it without fear.

"Mr. Brougham: If they drink it in moderation.

"Lord Tenterden: Let the rule be discharged.

"In a paper handed to us in court, signed by Mr. Ashurst, the attorney for the Burton ale brewers, and Mr. Tooke, the defendants' attorney, containing the observations to be inserted in the future editions of the treatise in question, it is stated, on the part of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, that it was not intended to accuse the brewers of using the illegal ingredients referred to; and, had it been suspected there was anything deleterious in them, the use of them would not have been recommended, nor, at the same time, had the committee been aware of the evidence adverted to, would

such direct allusion have been made to the ale brewed at Burton."

The "learned author" of this scandalous libel was a certain Scotch doctor named Booth, who was about as much "a brewer of twenty years' experience" as he was a philologist of eminence. His object was probably the glorification of Scotch ale, at the expense of that of Burton, which was fast driving the former out of the market.

From this time until 1838 the house of Allsopp and Sons enjoyed an uninterrupted success. In that year the death of Mr. Samuel Allsopp caused the deepest affliction to his family and friends, among whom were comprised all, from the highest to the humblest, who came within his sphere. His largeness of views, supported by great practical knowledge in every department, and his skill in dealing with the greater operations of commerce, had elevated his house until it became one of the first in the country; while his own experience of the anxieties and vicissitudes of fortune had imbued his spirit with a generous sympathy for others which he never failed to evince as occasion required. Charitable almost to a fault, his time and assistance were ever at the service of the poor. Firm, manly, and consistent in character, his full, well-proportioned, and stately form, and refined manner, were such as might be supposed adequately to represent an old English family. Generous in every transaction, kind in every relation of life, of the most solid integrity, and a sincere and practical Christian feeling, there were many who would apply to Mr. Samuel Allsopp the words in which Johnson so affectionately deploras the death of his friend Mr. Thrane, the brewer:—

"I felt almost the last flutter of his pulse, and looked for the last time upon the face, that for fifteen years had never been turned upon me but with respect and benignity."

Of him it might be truly said, in the words of Sir Walter Scott, "He would have been a poorer man, indeed, but perhaps as happy, had he devoted to the extension of science those active energies, and acute powers of observation, for which commercial pursuits found occupation. Yet, in the fluctuations of mercantile speculation, there is something captivating to the

adventurer, even independent of the hope of gain. He who embarks on this fickle sea requires to possess the skill of the pilot, and the fortitude of the navigator; and he, after all, may be wrecked and lost, unless the gales of fortune breathe in his favour. This mixture of necessary attention and inevitable hazard—the frequent and awful uncertainty whether prudence shall overcome fortune, or fortune baffle the schemes of prudence—affords full occupation for the powers of the mind, and trade possesses all the fascination of gambling without its moral guilt.”

The last act of this gentleman exemplifies at once his capacity of comprehension, and the interest he had always taken in the advancement of the prosperity of his native town. On the first suggestion of the Derby and Birmingham Railway he came forward, and by his warm support consolidated the basis of that system of intercommunication which has brought Burton-on-Trent into close connection with the great system of railways which has almost annihilated space and time, and made the staple manufacture of his native town easy of conveyance to all parts of England and the world. Indeed it was to his efforts that Burton-on-Trent is indebted for being upon this railway. The intention of Mr. Stephenson, the engineer, was originally to carry the railway in another direction; but he was induced, by the better information and excellent judgment of Mr. Allsopp, to diverge from the line originally laid down, and carry it to Burton-upon-Trent.

In the north aisle of the old church at Burton-on-Trent the following tablet has been erected:—

“IN MEMORY OF SAMUEL ALLSOPP,

of Derby, and of Birmingham, in the county of Worcester, Esq., who died, highly esteemed and lamented, February 26, 1838, aged 57.

“He was the male representative of an ancient Derbyshire family, whose ancestor, Hugh de Allsopp, was knighted by Richard I. on the conquest of Acre. He was descended from Anthony Allsopp, of Alsop-in-the-Dale (Helleshope), Derbyshire, whose fourth son, Samuel, married Bridget, daughter of Bencroft Banister, of Worcester, and of Birlingham, Esq.

Their son Thomas married Ann Chalinor, of Fauld, by whom he had one daughter and five sons. James, the youngest, married Ann, daughter of Benjamin Wilson, of this town, by whom he had six sons and two daughters. The five youngest died in their infancy. The survivors were Ann, the above-named Samuel, and Thomas, by whom this tablet is erected as a tribute of brotherly affection."

Mr. Allsopp left by will the business to his two sons, Charles James and Henry Allsopp. Under their care the Indian trade continued to increase as we have shown, and the English home market also to be largely developed.

In 1839 the west branch of the Midland railway, which connects Burton with Derby, Birmingham, and London, was opened, and afforded such increased facilities of communication, and caused so large a reduction in the expense of carriage, that the attention of all concerned in the staple trade of Burton became directed to a further development of the system. But, previous to entering upon this undertaking, a deputation was sent to the Oxford Canal Company, to request them to reduce their tonnages. Here again, as if the world had grown no wiser, there occurred a repetition of the former folly of the Trent Navigation Company, in regard to Brindley's original proposal of the grand trunk canal system; for the Oxford heads of colleges, who formed the managing committee of the Oxford Canal Company, scorned all idea of a reduction of charges in the face of a railway opposition, of which they refused to recognise the practicability. They declined to lower their tonnage, and preferred conveying a small amount of goods at a high price to an increased amount at lower rates. The Burton brewers then paid sixty shillings per ton by canal, which occupied a week in transit; they now pay fifteen shillings by rail, and their produce reaches London or Liverpool, without risk of waste or robbery, in twelve hours. The refusal of the Oxford Canal Company caused a ruinous deterioration of their property. The Allsopps gave the weight of their influence to the proposed railway, and Burton has become the centre of a network of rails which gives its manufactures ready access to every part of the United Kingdom.

In 1844 we find the "Brewers' Almanack," a trade authority, thus speaking of the vast business of the house:—

"Until last year we, and we believe most of the trade, were under a wrong impression as to which house exported most extensively to India; the very quiet and non-puffing manner in which Messrs. Allsopp and Sons have conducted their business had deceived us as to the amount they were doing. The newspaper paragraphs above alluded to have, however, awakened us, and induced us to make inquiries for the information of our readers, and we find from excise returns that Messrs. Allsopp have exported to the three Presidencies of India, during the last twelve months, as much as 8,753 hogsheads, being very *nearly double* the quantity shipped by any other firm; and also that the price in the market is usually from two to five rupees per hogshead in their favour. By the last mail, however, we see that, in consequence of a large arrival at Calcutta at the same time, other ales approached nearer to the price of that of Messrs. Allsopp than they were accustomed to do.

"We further have ascertained that out of 28,000 quarters (in round numbers) consumed by the two leading houses of Burton-upon-Trent, Messrs. Allsopp and Sons have malted 15,000 quarters. Hitherto they have not been able to supply the demand for home consumption, but from an extension of their premises, just taken place, they are now prepared to do business to any extent, whether abroad or at home."

In 1845 the death of Mr. Charles James Allsopp threw the entire business into the hands of Mr. Henry Allsopp; and so vast, under his management, became the trade of the house, both home and foreign, that he was induced to give the firm additional strength and consolidation, by associating with himself partners, in 1847-8, with a large accession of capital.

We have no more to report. Messrs. Allsopp and Sons, and all the Burton brewers, have gone on since that period successfully; the taste of the public for Burton Ale is on the increase, and the holy well of St. Modwen, now worked by steam, carries health and refreshment to all parts of the habitable globe.

In 1851—the Exhibition year—the consumption of the ales

of Messrs. Allsopp increased by 15,000 barrels, or 15 per cent.; and singular to say, in 1852, they not only preserved that increase, but increased it by 10,000 barrels, equal to an addition of 25 per cent. to the already enormous business of the firm within little more than eighteen months. The accounts for the present year report an enormous enlargement of the home consumption of Allsopp's Pale Ale; and although we have no official statement before us, we have good reason for asserting it to be upwards of 50,000 quarters; that is to say, more than four hundred thousand bushels of malt!

CHAPTER VI.

THE BURTON BREWERY.

This ale must come from Allsopp's vat,
It is so bright and mellow;
There's none but he can brew like that—
Oh! he's a famous fellow!
Such ale as this, wherever sought,
None other could invent, sirs!
'Tis only brewed, 'tis only bought,
At Burton-upon-Trent, sirs!

WE have now, like the traveller who walks along the margin of a stream until he reaches its fountain head, arrived at the Barton Brewery, the fame of which the wings of the jealous wind have borne north, and south, and east, and west. View it with respect, O reader; for from it have been warmed the brave hearts of the navigators gallantly exploring their icy way through frost, and mist, and snow in the mysterious polar seas;* and from it also has been refreshed the languid system of the enterprising European, thirsty and faint, under the burning glare of tropical skies. We have described the town of Burton, and related the history of the great staple trade to

* In the spring of last year, 1852, the Lords of the Admiralty invited all the great brewers to send in samples of their ale to enable their Lordships to select *that which should be provided for the Arctic Expedition*. The invitation was generally responded to; and the ales of Messrs. Allsopp were chosen.

which it owes its present prosperous state. So now, O reader, come with us to the manufactory itself. We will together unravel its mysteries; and although of it has been sung—

In the valley of Burton a brewery stands,
Which was built, it is said, by no mortal hands;
Hither and thither,
No one knows whither,
The witches and fairies assemble together;

we will show you that neither witch nor fairy assist at the birth of bitter beer; that experience and science alone reign paramount; and if spell there be, it lies in the waters of St. Modwen, the hops of Kent, and the barley of the golden vale.

And here we must again premise, that we select for our purpose the brewery of Messrs. Allsopp; since (while with them the Burton bitter beer or pale ale originated, and to them the brewers of Burton exclusively, albeit tacitly, committed the defence of their general manufacture), they are the largest ale brewers in the kingdom. Other brewers, nay, even some in Burton, may wet as large a quantity of malt as they, and brew a beer of excellent quality; but there is a tact required beyond this; and *that* Messrs. Allsopp have acquired by making the brewing of their peculiar ales a *speciality*. Other brewers brew porter as well as ale; their energies are not exclusively devoted to the manufacture of a single article, and many cares divide and abstract their attention. To ales, on the other hand, Messrs. Allsopp's trade is exclusively confined; and since the advantages arising from a division of labour are universally recognised, the public are justified in their belief that the best articles are produced by those who confine their attention to, and prosecute with zeal, any one object. Philosophers have laid it down as an axiom, that no effect can be produced without a cause; and we find a reason for the priority which Messrs. Allsopp's manufacture enjoys over rival candidates for public favour, in the fact that they brew nothing but ale, while the advantages of an immense capital enable them to do so upon the most exact and strictest scientific principles. Let us, therefore, at once step across the threshold of their immense

establishment, and observe the process adopted in the manufacture.

But before we reach the brewery, reader, let us once more pause upon our way. You will better understand the processes of which we are about to tell you, if you possess some previous knowledge of the theory of the brewer's operation.

The object of the British ale brewer, then, is to produce a vinous or alcoholic beverage, more or less bitter, and charged with carbonic acid. The raw materials he requires for this purpose are barley previously converted into malt, hops, yeast, and water; and the several processes of his manufacture may be conveniently arranged as follows:—

I. The manufacture of malt.

II. The preparation of a fermentable liquor called wort.

III. The transformation of wort into ale.

The first process is the especial care of the maltster; the second includes grinding the malt, mashing, boiling, hopping, and cooling; while the third comprises fermentation in all its stages, cleaning and racking.

Any liquid to undergo a vinous or alcoholic fermentation must contain sugar; and there are two sources from which sugar may be obtained. First, it may be extracted from different plants, as the beet-root, sugar-cane, grapes, &c., which naturally contain it; and, secondly, it may be made by art. It is from the latter source that the brewer generally obtains his supply.

When the seeds of cereals, especially barley, are germinated, a remarkable substance is formed from a portion of their gluten. This has been termed *diastase*; and it possesses the extraordinary property of converting starch into gum and sugar—the formation of the gum, as *dextrine*, preceding that of the sugar. Now barley, in its natural state, contains little or no sugar, but a large quantity of starch; and if it be subjected to the process of germination, the above-named principle, *diastase*, is formed, and the means afforded for converting its starch into sugar. The process of malting, then, consists solely in germinating barley, and allowing it to grow sufficiently to develop the greatest quantity of *diastase* without expending upon the

growth of the young plant more of the substance of the corn than is absolutely necessary. This done the maltster arrests germination, and destroys the vitality of the seed by the application of heat,* The process by which this is effected we shall detail when describing that portion of the brewery in which malt is manufactured.

The malt, when crushed and infused in water, at a temperature ranging between 140° and 175°, yields a highly saccharine liquid called sweetwort. This contains besides sugar, gum or dextrine, albumen and metamorphosed gluten, other substances derived from the corn, as soluble salts, &c. If this fluid were fermented without any further change, it also would yield alcohol; but it would neither be agreeable to the taste, nor would it keep; while its glutinous or nitrogenous nature would render it prone to acidity. To remedy these evils, then, and to render it more wholesome, the wort is boiled with the addition of hops; by which means obnoxious ingredients are removed, and a grateful aroma and an agreeable bitter are added. The selection of the hop for this purpose is a remarkable occurrence in the history of arts and manufactures. Without the aid of theory or of science, here practical tact and judgment selected that which was most appropriate; and it has since been ascertained that there is scarcely another known substance which contains properties more appropriate. In the process of boiling, the albumen of the wort coagulates, and a portion of the glutinous bodies unite with the tannin of the hops, and are thus separated from the liquid, which now having undergone another change in its constitution, is strained from the spent hops, and as rapidly as possible cooled down to the necessary temperature, and yeast mixed with it to induce fermentation.

By fermentation chemists denote a class of processes by which organic bodies, of a certain composition and in a certain state, act upon other organic substances, and thereby produce a

* Isidorus and Orosius tell us of the old Celtic form of brewing—a method doubtless inherited from those great masters of all arts, their Phœnician ancestors, in which “the grain is steeped in water and made to germinate; it is then dried and ground; after which it is infused with a certain quantity of water, which is afterwards fermented.”

complete change in the latter, without imparting to them any material ingredients from their own substance. There are a number of these processes known ; but the most interesting and the most important is that of the vinous or alcoholic fermentation—a term given to the change which yeast (ferment) produces in an aqueous saccharine solution of a certain concentration ; and by which the sugar, by a trasposition of its elements, is converted into alcohol and carbonic acid—the latter for the greater part escaping, the former being retained in the liquid.

During fermentation a remarkable change occurs in the wort ; its surface becomes covered with a white foam, which increases as the action advances ; its temperature rises, and an active commotion takes place ; its odour becomes vinous, and it gradually loses its sweetness. Under proper circumstances, and with some precautions, the action might be pushed so far as to convert all, or nearly all of the sugar of the wort into alcohol and carbonic acid. But such is not the object of the brewer. He desires to retain in his product a certain quantity of carbonic acid, in order to improve its flavour, and to form a source of that gas which renders good ale so refreshing and palatable, and the absence of which makes it stale and flat. To produce a good and agreeable beverage, therefore, the brewer must, at a certain point, arrest the progress of fermentation, and at the same time remove the particles of yeast diffused through the liquid. This purpose is effected by the process of cleansing. The temperature of the ale is lowered, either by an artificial cooling apparatus, or by passing it into small casks or other vessels ; and the yeast, which at this period collects on the surface, in the form of a whitish frothy mass, is removed. The fermentation is thus speedily checked, and the ale, so far finished, is allowed to deposit the greater part of the yeasty particles floating in it. It is then racked off into other casks, a handful of fresh hops thrown in, securely closed or “bunged down,” and removed to an appropriate store. Here a very gentle fermentation recommences ; but the gas, now unable to escape, is retained by the ale, and affords one of its delightful qualities.

This short sketch of the process of brewing will enable

the reader to understand the *rationale* of the several operations carried on in the manufactory of Messrs. Allsopp, round which we are about to conduct him. Let us first proceed to the malting houses, then describe the brewery, and lastly offer a few details relative to the general working of this vast establishment.

THE MALTING HOUSES.—Messrs. Allsopp have a considerable number of malt houses; but we select for description three which have recently been erected. They combine every improvement and scientific appliance; and although separately worked, and independent of each other, they are connected by galleries, and are, as a whole, the largest in the kingdom. A siding from the railway runs into them; and the centre of the three buildings has an extra story for garnering about three thousand quarters of barley; there the grain received by the railway is immediately conveyed, weighed, and stored. There it is also “blown,” a process by which inferior seeds and light impurities are removed; and there great care is taken, by good ventilation and frequent turning, to preserve the grain in a sweet and healthy condition.

From this garner the barley is led into cisterns below, where it is steeped in water for not less than fifty hours, the water being changed, to prevent putrefaction, and to carry off extraneous matters. From the steep, or cistern, the barley is conveyed to “the couch frame,” where in winter it remains for twenty-four hours, and for twenty during summer. The more it here swells, the better is its quality; and it is here, therefore, that the Excise levies the duty upon malt according to the swelling of the couch.

In due time the couch is broken up and divided into two portions, one of which is “worked” upon the ground floor, the other upon the floor above. These “floors” are made with cement and sand, and are perfectly smooth. On them the barley is left for ten days, during which time it germinates, grows, and again withers,—results which require the greatest care to render them uniform throughout the whole mass. Temperature, and the state of the weather, greatly influence the maltster’s operations; but by opening or closing his shut-

ters, and by more or less spreading, heaping, and turning his grain, he regulates the process, and obtains a satisfactory result. On the tenth day, the grain is "loaded," that is, placed upon the kiln, where it is dried, its vitality destroyed, and any further change in its constituents prevented. It is then screened, and conveyed to the dry malt store. Messrs. Allsopp's houses are so arranged, that six hundred quarters of malt, or four thousand eight hundred bushels, are made during the maltster's week of eight days.

THE HOP STORES must also be visited; and here the quantity of hops collected is truly amazing; thousands of pockets, each containing, upon an average, one hundred and sixty-eight pounds being required during the brewing season. They are chiefly obtained from Kent, since only the finest hops are purchased.

THE BREWERY next claims our attention. Here, with the exception of the Sabbath, the work is carried on without intermission during about eight months of the year—from September until April—day and night, with a uniformity and regularity truly surprising. The gangs of men employed in the different processes are changed at six o'clock every morning and evening; while a steam-engine, of twenty-horse-power, supplies the water from the spring of St. Modwen.

We will first examine the means employed for preparing the fermentable liquor called wort.

The barley having, as we have seen, been duly malted, is delivered at the mill. Here, having been weighed, it is screened to remove any impurities that may still be mixed with it, and then conveyed by a Jacob's ladder, or endless band, with a quantity of small cans attached to it, like a dredging machine, to the rollers. Here it is spread, and falling between two nicely adjusted and very rapidly revolving iron cylinders, is slightly crushed, and prepared for the process of "mashing." It is then conveyed, by means of an Archimedian screw, to the various hoppers or receivers, which are placed immediately over the mash-tubs; and these latter being supplied with the proper quantity of water heated to the proper temperature, the charged hoppers are opened, and the malt they contained

let down into the water and mixed with it, either by hand or by machinery, the operation being called "mashing."*

In the brewery of Messrs. Allsopp there are seven mash-tubs; six of these are worked by hand with instruments called mashing rules or oars, and one by machinery—the latter being of the enormous capacity of thirteen thousand gallons. Each tub is provided with a convenience for filtering the mash, consisting of a false bottom, perforated with a considerable number of minute holes, through which the fluid percolates. Between the actual bottom and the percolator is a space of several inches, into which pipes enter, for carrying off the liquor. These are connected with a small reservoir, called the "underback or well tub."

The operation of mashing being finished, that is to say, the malt intimately mixed with the water, the tubs are covered down to prevent the mash cooling, and the whole is allowed to stand for several hours. During this time, the transformation of the starch we have alluded to takes place; and when good malt has been used, not a trace of it is to be found after the mash has stood an hour. It has been entirely converted into gum (dextrine) and sugar.† The mash having stood a sufficient time, is drawn off by the pipes at the bottom of the tubs, conveyed into the underback, and thence pumped into the coppers, to be boiled with the hops. The grains left in the tubs are thrown out, and used as food for cattle.

THE COPPER-HOUSE, to which we must now proceed, is perhaps the finest in the kingdom. It contains eight continuous coppers, two of which are used exclusively for boiling water, and six for boiling wort. The water coppers are covered with domes, and are so large that in each more than thirteen thousand gallons of water can be boiled at one time. The ale coppers are open and of great size. They each boil sixty barrels, or two thousand one hundred and sixty gallons;

* Most brewers pour the water upon the malt. To ensure greater accuracy as to temperature, Messrs. Allsopp reverse the operation, and add the malt to the water.

† This is readily shown by adding a few drops of tincture of iodine to a small portion of the mash, when the starch, if any, will be rendered blue, the dextrine purple, while the sugar remains unchanged.

and the reader may form some idea of the magnitude of this immense establishment when told that during the brewing season these boilers are filled twice daily, and thus that the daily produce of the brewery averages twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty gallons of ale ! The wort is conveyed to the coppers by means of a pump capable of lifting five thousand gallons per hour. In them hops are added to the wort and boiled together for some hours ; the whole is then run off by means of large taps into an enormous straining apparatus, called the "hopback ;" here the hops are separated from the wort, which passes into the "coolers." These are large wooden cisterns six inches deep, and occupy an area of nearly two thousand square feet. These cisterns are freely exposed to the air ; but to ensure a rapidity and regularity in cooling, which in this variable climate could not otherwise be obtained, a cooling apparatus, called a refrigerator, is used, by means of which great correctness is ensured, and the temperature of the ale soon reduced to its appropriate degree. The refrigerators consist each of a vast system of pipes, through which flows a constant current of cold water, which rapidly abstracts heat from the ale, and reduces it to its proper temperature. The length of the pipe, at Messrs. Allsopp's, extends to many thousand feet.

From the refrigerators the liquor passes to the "squares," or fermenting vessels, where it is mixed with yeast, and allowed to ferment. The singular changes we have before alluded to now take place, and the quantity of carbonic acid gas given off is very considerable.

The fermentation being sufficient for the brewer's purpose, it is checked by what is termed "tunning," or "cleansing." At Messrs. Allsopp's this is effected by running the ale into numerous casks of between one hundred and fifty and one hundred and eighty gallons, so arranged that the ale continues to throw off its yeast, and the casks being by a peculiar arrangement constantly kept full, the yeast is effectually separated, and the ale allowed to become clear. It is then run into other large cisterns or reservoirs, and in due time racked into casks for the consumer.

We have now gone through the brewery, and sufficiently understand both the theory and the practice of the brewer's art. We will now visit

THE COOPERAGE.—Considerable care is required in the treatment and selection of casks; and every one of the many thousands that are filled weekly by Messrs. Allsopp are subjected to a rigorous examination. The greatest care is taken that they are sweet and clean; that they are well coopered, and sufficiently strong to bear the pressure of the carbonic acid gas, which by an after fermentation, or when the ale becomes "fresh," is again produced. A very extensive branch of Messrs. Allsopp's establishment is, that we are now to describe; and nothing can more forcibly impress the visitor with the magnitude of the vast whole, than when he sees, for the first time, the great pyramids of barrels which, if laid singly, would cover more ground than the great pyramid itself. It was no exaggeration when a writer in the *Times* spoke of the "acres of casks" possessed by this eminent house, and deposited upon their premises. The timber with which they are made is imported from Stettin and Memel, and that only which possesses the finest grain is selected for the purpose. On its arrival in Burton it is sawn into staves of the proper length and thickness, and then placed in large tanks and steeped, in order to extract any soluble, vegetable, and saline matters contained in the substance of the wood, which, when made into casks, might contaminate the ale. Having undergone this process, the staves are piled to dry, and left for about six months exposed to the influence of the atmosphere; and when properly seasoned they are brought to the workshops to be manufactured into barrels. The amount of labour here performed is truly enormous; more than one hundred coopers are employed, and yet such is the demand, that Messrs. Allsopp cannot manufacture upon their own premises, and by their own workmen, all the barrels they require. On leaving the coopers' shops the new casks are passed to the painters, who lay a thick coat of paint upon the end of the staves to prevent leaking. They are then branded with the name and residence of the firm, and piled for use. Previous to their being filled their interior

is exposed for several hours to a powerful jet of high-pressure steam, and afterwards to an equally energetic desiccation by hot air, by which they are effectually dried, and any extractive matter that may still adhere to them completely destroyed. They are now filled with hot water, and carefully examined as to tightness and sound cooperage; faulty staves are thus detected and replaced, and the barrel becomes ready for use.

Old casks returned by the trade are also delivered at the cooperage. On arrival their number is taken and registered; they are unheaded, washed, and carefully examined and repaired; again they are exposed to the steam jet, hot air, and hot water, dried, and once more made ready for use—those that are not perfectly sweet and clean being invariably rejected and broken up. Besides coopers, we have here busily at work turners, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, and carpenters. The whole scene fills the mind with wonder and surprise; and well it may, for here more than a thousand new casks are every week manufactured, none of which costs less than twelve shillings, and nearly as many old ones examined and repaired.

More than five hundred men are wholly employed at Messrs. Allsopp's works; and when we further consider the numerous agencies established by the house at home and in other countries; the value of the plant, and of the many acres of freehold land upon which it stands;* the quantities of barley and of hops that are purchased during the season; the fifty to sixty horses that carry the ale to the adjacent railway, and bring the malt to the brewery; and the general expenses of so vast an establishment, we marvel at the enormous amount of capital invested. There, too, order and regularity prevail in the greatest perfection; cheerfulness and contentment beam in every face; and the adage is fully exemplified, that "good masters make good men."

* At a recent sale at Burton, land for building purposes found a ready market at the rate of \$2000 per acre!

CHAPTER VII.

THE BATTLE OF BITTER BEER.

"Envy doth merit, as its fate, pursue,
And like the Shadow proves the Substance true."—POPE.

"Every man is the maker of his own Fortune; and, what is very odd to consider, he must in some measure be the trumpeter of his own fame: not that men are to be tolerated who directly praise themselves; but they are to be endued with a sort of defensive eloquence, by which they shall be always capable of expressing the rules and arts whereby they govern themselves."—TATLER.

IN our fifth chapter we related the rise and progress of bitter beer, detailing at some length the various vicissitudes and the numerous trials through which it had passed; we also proclaimed its triumph, and its undisputed recognition as a salubrious beverage, noticing its enormously increased consumption, and the corresponding means which were adopted to meet the demand. We have now to turn another page in its history—to tell of the late battle of bitter beer, how it was fought, and how it was won. This onslaught arose, as is stated in the Preface, from a misconception on the part of a celebrated French chemist, M. Payen, which produced the greatest alarm in the public mind, and might have proved fatal to the reputation of the Burton ales, had not Mr. Henry Allsopp taken up the gauntlet, and proved the futility of the charge—subjecting, at a great cost, his ales to the rigorous examination of the ablest English chemists. The charge against the brewers of bitter ales was, that a most powerful and subtle poison, strychnine, the active principle of nux vomica or ratsbane, was employed by them to give bitterness to their ales. This was asserted by M. Payen in a course of lectures on Hygiene, delivered at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers in Paris. An extract from these lectures appeared in a French paper, the *Constitutionnelle*, and afterwards in the *Union Médicale*, a Parisian medical journal, where, coming in due course before the then editor of the *Medical Times and Gazette*, he, considering that so important a statement should be made known to the English

public, and believing that M. Payen had good grounds for what he said, denounced this apparent and dangerous fraud in a leading article of May 20, and that in no measured terms. M. Payen had authoritatively stated that large quantities of strychnine, one of the most powerful poisons we possess, and at the same time of intense bitterness, was manufactured in large quantities in France for the English market; and that the strychnine so manufactured was employed as a substitute for hops to give the bitter flavour to beer. As the Burton ales are much higher hopped than others, it was at once inferred that this substance was employed to impart to them their bitterness; and the remarks of the *Medical Times* suggesting inquiry on the subject, soon finding their way into the general newspapers, a panic was produced; pale ale was abandoned; and but for Mr. Henry Allsopp's exertions, bitter beer would have fallen into disrepute, and the trade been ultimately ruined.

It must here be remarked that no blame can be imputed to the editor of a medical journal for placing a statement, made apparently on such good authority, before the medical men of England, who have been, and are in the constant habit of recommending Burton ales to convalescents, and prescribing them for those who labour under indigestion and other diseases. If so deleterious a substance as strychnine really entered into the composition of the Burton ales, it was essential that those who prescribed them for their patients should be aware of the circumstance; and it was evidently the duty of the editor of a medical journal to impart to the profession any such knowledge as he himself had obtained. Knowing to how great an extent adulterations of food have been, and still are practised—that, for example, when we suppose we are sipping our Mocha, we are taking an infusion of chicory, with an infinitesimal portion of real coffee; that instead of arrowroot, we are served with potato-starch; and that other articles of daily consumption are fearfully falsified—it could excite no surprise that suspicion arose concerning ale, especially after M. Payen had broached so confident an assertion. Another well-known circumstance would have weight with the editor of a medical journal, namely, that some publicans or brewers, or both, do

indeed adulterate their beer, and that noxious substances are often employed for this disgraceful purpose.*

So soon, however, as the presence of strychnine in the Burton ales was positively disproved, the then editor of the *Medical Times* hastened to do all in his power to remove the doubt of the purity of these ales, raised by the incorrect affirmations of the French chemist, M. Payen, by publishing an article in which the refutation of his previous remarks was plainly and unequivocally set forth. But, in the meantime, Mr. Henry Allsopp had hastened to quell the storm. He at once, and unreservedly, offered admission to his brewery to all scientific men who felt interested in the matter; to permit them to watch the processes he employed; and to examine all the articles used in his manufacture. He did more than this—he subjected a large number of samples, some of which had been long kept in London and elsewhere, to analysis by several of the most celebrated English chemists, who exhausted, with a negative result, the resources of their science in the search for strychnine. The subject was also taken up by the analytical commission of the *Lancet*, and a considerable number of samples, bought at different shops and warehouses, underwent careful analysis without evidencing the presence of the most minute particle of the poisonous drug. Thus, an accusation which might have proved ruinous to a great and important trade, was at once and for ever refuted, and the result has been an enormous increase in the consumption of bitter beer. The documents connected with the accusation and defence possess a high degree of scientific interest, showing, as they do, the rapid strides that have been made in chemistry during the last half century; they are also of great importance, and we shall draw largely upon them in the succeeding pages.†

* We believe it utterly impossible for the large brewers to adulterate their manufacture; and for the simple reason that so many men are employed in their works, that the secret could not effectually be preserved.

† As regards the original statement, it may be observed, that M. Payen never made the charge in reference to the present practice of English brewers; that the discovery of the manufacture of strychnine in large quantities was not made by the French Government; that there was no secret in its destination; that this destination was certainly England in the first instance, but that it was thence exported to Germany for poisoning vermin, and to Australia for the destruction

On the Saturday after the announcement of the fancied and frightful adulteration of Burton beer, the *Spectator*, one of the most talented of the weekly papers, vindicated the character of pale ale, and showed that a beverage of such fine quality could not be thus adulterated. But still the panic continued, and the public mind remained disturbed, until the question was more deeply probed, and an inquiry instituted by competent persons, which terminated in a complete and most convincing refutation of the calumny. The *Spectator*, for March 27, 1852, observed that—

“The power of adulteration is great, but it cannot make a first-rate article; and therefore we doubt its power to tamper in any essential degree with pale ale. The bitterness is sometimes ascribed to camomile; but that drug, overwhelming when strong, still nauseous even when feeble, would not pass. Wormwood is more possible; but we do not believe in its use. In the making of the very best ales, nothing has been found to succeed so well as malt and hops, and those the very best of their kind. A bitter ale is formed of such ingredients as would make a sparkling sweet ale, only the sweetness of the malt is reduced to its almost inappreciable degree by a continued fermentation, which thus leaves the bitter bare without disguise. You cannot have a sweet ale with the peculiarly light quality of the bitter ale, because to obtain that quality you must reduce the heavy sweet of the wort in the process of fermentation. On the other hand, you cannot *omit* the sweet; it is the material of the peculiar liquor that tastes so pleasant. Much depends upon the quality of the water used, much upon care in brewing, much upon those critical points in the process which, as yet, theory cannot explain, but ‘experience’ alone can unconsciously arrive at. The one thing certain is, that the best ingredients, the best apparatus, and the best care, can alone secure that peculiar quality and flavour, which in turn secures the public liking.”

of wild dogs; that the “large” quantity exported from France did not exceed fifty ounces, which was insufficient to give the bitter to three hours’ consumption throughout England; and, finally, that the detection of this substance, far from being difficult or impossible, is facile and unfailing.

So far, however, from allaying the storm, the above notice in so influential a journal as the *Spectator* led to a still wider circulation of the accusation it was intended to refute. The *Times* re-echoed the cry by the publication on the 29th of March of the following letter :—

“ To the Editor.

“ Sir—Permit me to draw your attention and that of the public to the statement of M. Payen, at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers at Paris, to the effect, that the attention of the Government had been directed to the manufacture of large quantities of that most potent and extraordinary poison strychnine—the active principle of the *nux vomica*—the destination and objects of which were unknown to that Government, but that subsequent investigation had led to the discovery that this country was its destination, and its object the manufacture of the ‘ bitter ale.’

“ It appears a matter of the gravest importance that this subject should meet with consideration; for, although the amount of that poison must be necessarily small on account of its intense bitterness, still it possesses what is technically called an accumulative action, and must, in the long run, prove imminently dangerous to those daily partaking of it, giving rise to symptoms not easily otherwise to be explained, and possibly inducing a state of permanent ill-health, from exhausting the nervous energy of the stomach, and irritability of the heart.

“ That bitter beer, deriving its bitterness from the hop, camomile, or gentian, is an excellent beverage, giving tone to the digestive apparatus, cannot be denied, and it behoves the manufacturers of genuine bitter ale to come forward and satisfy the public that this vile abomination does not exist in all varieties of that otherwise innocent and grateful beverage, or assuredly the days of ‘ bitter ale’ are numbered.

“ The past expositions of adulterations in articles of food by the *Lancet* should arouse the attention of the Government to institute some kind of *surveillance* over the dishonest trader, when it is certain such gross impositions—to use no harsher

expression—could not occur.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

“ M.D.

“ Upper George Street, Bryanston Square.”

Mr. Allsopp now conceived that more than a casual insinuation was meant; and feeling that the colossal trade as well as the honour of the great firm he represented were at stake, he did not hesitate to step forward from the retirement of private life into the arena of disputation. In the *Times* of April 1, he published the subjoined letter:—

“ *To the Editor.*

“ Sir,—As senior member of a firm whose interests are likely to be strongly affected by the remarks of your correspondent ‘ M.D.,’ I beg leave to offer a few words on his statement that a recent extraordinary production of strychnine in France has been discovered by the French Government to ‘ have for its destination this country, and for its object the manufacture of bitter beer.’

“ While acknowledging that ‘ bitter beer, deriving its bitterness from the hop, camomile, or gentian, is an excellent beverage, giving tone to the digestive apparatus,’ your correspondent tells us that ‘ it behoves the manufacturers of genuine bitter ale to come forward and satisfy the public that this vile abomination does not exist in all varieties.’ This, sir, is equivalent to first saying that every banker is a rogue, and then inviting Messrs. Baring, Coutts, and the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, to assure the public to the contrary.

“ If, however, it be not too presumptuous, I would willingly accept the challenge; and on the part of the firm to which I belong, and other well-known brewers of this most popular beverage (with whom I have had no previous consultation), I deny, to the fullest extent contradiction can go, that any such hideous poison, or, indeed, drugs of any kind, are used in the honest composition of our celebrated ‘ bitter beer.’ The mash-tub and the cooler, with good malt, fine hops, and pure spring

water, constitute the whole *materia medica* of the pale ale brewer; his sole *pharmacopœia*, the experience of nearly half a century. We use no secret recipe. Excellence of material, purity of water, with judgment and practical experience, are the only requisites; for—these being granted—on the ratio with which the bitterness of the hop is allowed to be mellowed by the malt depend the flavour and quality of the beer or ale.

“‘M.D.’ suggests a ‘*surveillance*’ on the part of the Government, and holds over our works a threat of the tests and microscopes of the past articles of the *Lancet*. Single-handed, and on the part of my own firm, I gladly accept this challenge. Let such *surveillance* be arranged, so long as it be instant, removing at once every doubt. Let such commission be appointed, and consist of men the most eminent in science. Not only shall they have access to our brewery, but we will throw open to them our books and every record of past transactions. They shall inspect and test not only the stock in our stores, but thousands of barrels lying in the docks for exportation. The past and the present of our ales shall be within their knowledge. There shall be no corner for suspicion of ‘making up’ for the moment. The names of customers shall be given in whose stores may be found and tried the stocks of years. Let us have nothing to do with this commission except to pay its charges, which we are willing to do, that the public may be fully and completely satisfied.

“But after this I trust that ‘M.D.,’ and other gentlemen, will hesitate before, without previous inquiry, and on the suggestions, it may be, of some empirical *gobemouche*, they give credence and circulation to a ‘fable’ which, though to them a matter of mere curious inquiry, affects with the most important consequences the interests of a large body of traders, whose integrity, fair dealing, and honest service of their customers in all parts of the world, have never hitherto been impeached.—I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

“HENRY ALLSOPP.

“The Brewery, Burton-on-Trent, March 30.”

This spirited letter was published in the *Times* of April 1,

1852; and in the *Morning Advertiser*, the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Morning Herald*, the *Daily News*, and the country press generally.

Mr. Allsopp also proceeded further, and addressed himself as follows to the *Medical Times* :—

“*To the Editor.*

“Sir,—Referring to an article in your journal of last week, I will not stop to inquire, as you do not appear to have done so, whether it be a fact that the large quantities of a drug called strychnine, manufactured in Paris, are intended for this country, and devoted to the poisoning of the English drinkers of bitter beer, but will at once respond to your call upon ‘the honest manufacturers of bitter beer’ to take up this subject, and satisfy the public that this atrocious falsification is limited.

“I will not appeal as the senior partner of a firm which, for nearly half a century, has been one of the most eminent in the pale ale trade—I will not appeal, I say, to the millions of our customers who have grown gray in the consumption of our ales, to prove that such an insinuation cannot by possibility apply to us; but, on behalf of ourselves and the trade, I will at once challenge the very largest and strictest inquiry. The surveillance you allude to we court to the utmost. Our vats, mash-tubs, coppers, and all the apparatus of our breweries, are from this day open to you.

“A ‘commission’ has been threatened, and a public report, as if upon an already proved delinquency! Let such commission be at once appointed. Let it consist of the most acute and scientific investigators. We offer to defray the charges of it. Let it at once proceed to examine our stock in course of manufacture in our stores and in the docks; nay, more, that there may be no possible contrivance, let this ‘commission’ test the thousands of barrels and hundreds of thousands of dozens lying in our customers’ cellars, whose names we are prepared to give, that the examination be complete as well of the past as the present.

“Will this, sir, suffice? Can more be suggested?—for all that is required shall be done. But when this is over, and the

public, and the medical profession, and the men of science are quite satisfied, I trust we may then be permitted to request from medical gentlemen and men of science that, before throwing out suggestions in the public press likely to lead to 'a belief in the universality of a fraud that would absolutely destroy the sale of their beer, and ruin a large and deserving class,' they would be good enough to make such previous inquiries as may put it in their power to exempt such 'large and deserving class' from such ruin.—I am, &c.,

"HENRY ALLSOPP.

"The Brewery, Burton-on-Trent."

In reply to this straightforward and forcible communication, the *Medical Times*, as we have observed in our Preface, characterized Mr. Allsopp's communication as "a frank, honest declaration, and quite satisfies us that Mr. Allsopp has been no party to any falsification; and that he, in common with the other great brewers, have really supplied the public with what they profess to do—viz., good, genuine, wholesome bitter beer."

"There is one part of Mr. Allsopp's letter," continued the editor, "in which he almost reproaches us for having brought this matter forward. But he will see, on a little reflection, that it was our bounden duty to make those statements public in this country which had been publicly proclaimed in Paris, and published in the leading political journal of the day, and in one of the most eminent of the medical periodicals. As medical men, and guardians of the public health, it was impossible for us to let the matter pass over without comment. Put the question to any sensible person in the kingdom, as to what course we should have pursued, and there can be but one answer. It is absurd to call upon us to prove M. Payen's assertion. It is not in our power to do so: but it is in our power to call upon those whom it concerns to disprove it; and we conceive that if we did not do this we should be doing our duty neither to the public nor the profession."

Of this publicity Mr. Allsopp has no cause personally to complain, since he has benefited largely by the charge, and its

complete vindication; for the public responded, through the press, in behalf of a beverage which, for upwards of a quarter of a century, had given health and enjoyment to millions; and the medical profession—from the most eminent among the London physicians to the remote country practitioner—testified their appreciation of Allsopp's pale ale and bitter beer as "one of the greatest modern improvements in malt liquor," and "an excellent adjunct to the physician in the exercise of his professional duties."

The quiet town of Burton-on-Trent now became a focus of scientific bustle and curiosity. The palatial premises of Allsopp and Sons were visited and revisited by the learned analyst and the philosophical investigator from all parts of England. Letters arrived every day at the counting-house requesting "samples for examination;" and here and there it was amusing to notice the eager *thirst* after knowledge and ale which some of these communications betokened. But no government commission appearing, and the M.D. of the *Times* showing little inclination for the fight, Mr. Henry Allsopp determined that the matter should not rest while even the possibility of doubt remained. He therefore invoked the aid of scientific gentlemen of universally-acknowledged eminence—"two of the most eminent chemists of the age; the one an eminent professor, not only well known for his numerous contributions to the advancement of chemical science, but frequently employed by the Government in questions of Excise and Custom of the greatest intricacy and importance; the other, one of the most eminent of the pupils of the illustrious Liebig, and who worthily directs the Royal College of Chemistry of this great metropolis."

To the hands of these gentlemen Mr. Henry Allsopp committed the character of his firm, and voluntarily put his reputation to trial—a trial, it must be remembered, in which the witnesses were beyond the possibility of suspicion. To them he opened the vast stores at Blackwall, those in the cellars of the great bottling firms, the stocks in the cellars of the licensed victuallers in the metropolis and throughout the country, as well as the last year's production, and that of the present year,

then in course of manufacture at the brewery at Burton. None of this could have been fabricated for the purpose—all was in stock previous to the insinuation of any suspicion of the integrity of pale ales. There could be no question, therefore, that the result of an analysis conducted by judges whose professional reputation was a guarantee for their impartiality as of their ability, would once and for ever establish or destroy the character of Messrs. Allsopp, and of the beverages brewed by them. The result is set forth in the "First Report" of Messrs. Graham and Hoffman, and in the letter of Mr. Henry Allsopp which introduced it to the notice of the editors of the public press :—

"To the Editor of the Morning Herald.

"Sir,—The question of the adulteration of 'pale ale or bitter beer' by a deadly poison called strychnine having lately occasioned some anxiety in the public mind, I take the liberty to forward you a copy of a joint report made by Professor Graham, of University College, and Dr. Hoffman, Professor of the Royal College of Chemistry, on the subject; from which it appears that the scandal promulgated was not only utterly unfounded and untrue, but utterly impossible.

"Permit me to direct your attention to two points; first, that M. Payen made a very different assertion from that imputed to him in respect to the large manufacture of strychnine, and its importation at present into this country; and, secondly, that so far from the test for detecting its presence being difficult, if not impossible, the means for such detection are at once ready and unfailling.

"I have the honour to be, sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"HENRY ALLSOPP.

"The Brewery, Burton-upon-Trent, April 27."

"Report upon the Alleged Adulteration of Pale Ales by Strychnine, by Professors Graham and Hoffman.

"Having undertaken at the request of Mr. Allsopp an inquiry into the purity of bitter beer, with particular reference

to its alleged adulteration by strychnine, we now submit the results which we have obtained upon this subject.

"Strychnine or strychnia, the alleged substitute for the hop, is a fine crystalized substance, extracted from *nux vomica*, and belonging to the class of vegetable principles termed alkaloids, of which quinine from Peruvian bark, and morphine from opium, are the most familiar examples. These substances, although susceptible of the most valuable medical application in small doses, are, generally speaking, remarkable for their energy as poisons, and for the intense bitterness of their taste—two properties which are developed in strychnine in the highest degree. Half a grain of the latter substance would poison, and the bitterness of the same minute quantity is perceptible in every drop of six or eight gallons of water in which it is dissolved.

"It may be stated at once, that the quantity of strychnine which we find necessary to impart to beer the degree of bitterness possessed by pale ale is, for a gallon of beer one grain of strychnine, or double the fatal dose. The price of strychnine is about 16s. the ounce, which does not amount to so much as one penny per grain. Estimating the annual production of pale ale in Burton as 200,000 barrels, the strychnine required as a bitter would amount to 16,448 ounces, and cost £13,158; while nobody believes that so much as 1,000 ounces of strychnine are manufactured over the whole world. The bitterness obtained by means of strychnine is equal in degree to that of the hop, but very different in kind, and easily distinguished when the two bitters are compared. The bitter of the hop is immediate in its action upon the palate, is accompanied by a fragrant aroma, and soon passes off; whilst that of strychnine is not so instantaneous; but when the impression is once communicated it is more lasting, and becomes, from its persistence, like that of metallic salt. The bitter of strychnine is, indeed, easily distinguishable from that of the hop when deliberately tasted.

"Still it would be highly desirable to be able to identify strychnine in beer, by the actual extraction of the substance, and the application to it of a chemical test of absolute certainty.

Fortunately those poisons which have the most violent action upon the animal economy possess often also the best marked reactions, or their physiological and chemical properties are equally salient. Thus arsenic and hydrocyanic acid are the most easily detected of chemical substances; and strychnine proves to be not far behind them in this respect.

"A quantity of strychnine, not exceeding 1-1000th of a grain is tested and recognised to be strychnine in the following manner:—The powder is moistened with a single drop of undiluted sulphuric acid, and a small fragment of chromate of potash placed in the liquid. A beautiful and most intense violet tint immediately appears at the points of contact, and is speedily diffused over the whole liquid. Although most intense, the colour disappears entirely again in a few minutes. The admixture of the smallest quantity of organic matter, however, interferes with the success of the process. In order to apply the test, in operating upon a complex liquid like beer, the strychnine must first be extracted from the liquid and obtained in a pure or nearly pure condition. This difficulty, which appears at first considerable, may be readily surmounted, and the strychnine, if it really exist in beer, be separated, and its nature established in the most certain manner.

"For this purpose, two ounces of ivory-black, or animal charcoal, were shaken in half a gallon of beer, to which half a grain of strychnine had been purposely added. After standing over-night, the liquid was found to be nearly deprived of all bitterness; the strychnine being absorbed by the charcoal. The liquid was now passed through a paper filter, upon which the charcoal containing the strychnine was collected and drained.

"The next step was to separate the strychnine from the charcoal. This was readily effected by boiling the mixture for half an hour in eight ounces of ordinary spirits of wine, avoiding loss of alcohol by evaporation. The spirits which now contained the strychnine were next filtered, and afterwards submitted to distillation. A watery fluid remained behind, which contained the strychnine, but not sufficiently pure for the test. The final purification was accomplished by adding a few drops of

potash to the watery fluid, and then shaking it with an ounce of ether. A portion of the ethereal solution evaporated upon a watch-glass left a whitish solid matter of intense bitterness, and this was recognized to be strychnine, by giving the violet tint, previously described, upon the application to it of sulphuric acid and chromate of potash.

"Having satisfied ourselves by repeated experiments with samples of beer to which strychnine had been previously added, of the never-failing efficacy of the above method of extraction, we now proceeded to the actual examination of the commercial article. With this object, a series of samples were taken indiscriminately from the stores of twenty-six of the London bottlers who supply the public with Allsopp's pale ale, and from whom we have documents in hand proving the origin of the beer, and the date of its arrival at their stores.

"It may be stated that, with the exception of five varieties specially indicated, extract of quassia would supply a bitter which is perfectly harmless and agreeable, and infinitely less expensive than strychnine.

"But the process of brewing pale ale is one in which nothing but water, the best malt, and hops of the first quality are used, and is an operation of the greatest delicacy and care, which would be entirely ruined by any tampering with the materials employed. Strychnine could not fail to be rejected, from the ungrateful, metallic character of its bitterness, independent of all objections of a more serious kind. This peculiarity of taste is also calculated to betray its presence. Small, too, as the proportion of strychnine may be which is necessary to impart the degree of bitterness of pale ale, the quantity rises, as has been seen, to a poisonous dose in half a gallon of the fluid; and, as this poison is one of those which are known to accumulate in the system, its poisonous action would inevitably follow, in occasional cases, upon the consumption of much smaller portions of beer, when continued for many days without intermission. The violent tetanic symptoms of poisoning by strychnine are also such as could scarcely fail to excite suspicion and alarm. Add to these disadvantages, the certainty of the means of detecting strychnine in beer by the

chemical tests described above, which any medical man or practical chemist can apply, and the chance of the use of so dangerous a substance for any purpose of adulteration becomes in the last degree improbable.

“ THOMAS GRAHAM, F.R.S.,

“ Professor of Chemistry, University College, London.

“ W. A. HOFFMAN, PH.D., F.R.S.,

“ Professor of the Royal College of Chemistry, London.

“ HENRY ALLSOPP, ESQ., Brewery, Burton-on-Trent.”

In this report of an inquiry, conducted by two of the chief chemists of the day,—men, as we have said, above suspicion, and whose statements must have their full force upon the public mind,—the most satisfactory points are, that a test exists by which even so minute a portion as a thousandth part of a grain of strychnine is capable of being detected by careful manipulation; and that, after the examination of no less than twenty-six samples, obtained indiscriminately from different London bottlers, no trace of the poison could be discovered. It was also proved that every one of these samples was in stock prior to the publication in the English journals of M. Payen's assertion. Moreover, the trials with strychnine made it manifest that considerable difference exists between the impression made on the palate by the bitterness of strychnine and of hops—the former being more persistent and intense in its character than the latter. It is shown to be impossible that strychnine can be employed to give bitterness to beer for two reasons—first, that supposing 200,000 barrels of pale ale are annually produced at Burton, 16,448 ounces of strychnine would, at the rate of one grain to the gallon, be required to impart sufficient bitterness to the beer, whereas it is improbable that 1,000 ounces are manufactured throughout the world; and secondly, that in this proportion the strychnine would produce severe effects upon the consumers of the ale, and which would soon cause its use to be abandoned.

The report of Messrs. Graham and Hoffman was followed, as might be anticipated, by testimonials from the profession in all parts of the country, in favour of the purity, excellence,

and salutary effects of Messrs. Allsopp's ales. Medical men, indeed, to whose recommendation their introduction as stomachics, tonics, and restoratives among the higher classes was at first chiefly to be attributed, appeared to conceive that, in this instance, a charge had been made against their skill and acumen. Not a few privately undertook analyses, and communicated the results to Messrs. Allsopp, their patients, and the public press. Among these, a very interesting analysis, dated April 29, was published by Dr. Normanby in the *Chemical Record*. It is needless to add, that the doctor reported that not the slightest trace of strychnine could be detected; while his remark, that Messrs. Allsopp do not need to "fine" their ales, which by themselves become bright by sufficient rest, is worthy of especial notice. It is, indeed, a rare occurrence that brewers' beer is capable of fining itself by mere subsidence; and is partly due to the care used in the selection of the materials, but chiefly in the management of the heat employed in extracting the saccharine matter of the malt and the aromatic bitter of the hop—a practice the result of long experience, and traditionally handed down in the brewery.*

A series of investigations into the adulterations practised on the chief articles of food being in the course of publication in the *Lancet*, it was judged right that so important an item as bitter beer should be subjected to a full and fair analytical examination in its pages.

We shall in this place offer an abstract of the paper, and refer the reader to the report itself (*Lancet*, May 15); premising, however, that the Analytical Sanitary Commission of the *Lancet* agreed to undertake an inquiry into the genuineness of bitter ales—"upon the distinctly-declared condition that the results of the investigation and analyses, whether favourable or unfavourable, should be unreservedly and faithfully communicated to the public."

After glancing at the alarm occasioned in the public mind

* We may here remark that such is the care and accuracy observed that Messrs. Allsopp have brewed and shipped their ales to India in the course of a few days!

by a "statement calculated to throw a suspicion on the genuine character of Bitter Beer"—which they pronounce to be a "subject of great importance, as involving the public health to a great degree, and also the pecuniary interests of a trade which, from its magnitude, has almost assumed a national character—affecting, moreover, the judgment of the medical profession, by whom the bitter beer has been so strongly recommended," the Commissioners proceed to an examination of the statement, and trace it from the columns of the *Medical Times* to the *Constitutionnel*, in the report of a lecture delivered at the "Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers" by M. Payen. This learned chemist did not, it seems, assert positively that the fraudulent use, in beer, of the poisonous material in question (strychnine) *had been*, but only said that it *appeared* to be, practised; and "accompanied this observation with the further remark that the *falsification had no doubt ceased*." A further fact was elicited; that in the French work treating of the adulterations and falsifications of food (*Dictionnaire des Alterations et Falsifications des Substances Alimentaires*), from which M. Payen had derived his assertion respecting the use of strychnine, "the matter was referred to rather as a vague and uncertain report, than as a distinct allegation of the use of strychnine by English brewers; the author concluding his remarks on the subject in the following words: 'We hasten to say that this sophistication, like the preceding, is far from being based upon ascertained facts.'"

More than this, however. "It appears," say the Commissioners, "that the charge made by M. Payen was founded on information obtained from M. Pelletier, the celebrated preparer of quinine and other alkaloids in France, who at one time received an order for a large quantity of strychnine, the destination of which was at first unknown to him, but which he afterwards found was exported to England, and used, so he informed M. Payen, to complete the bitterness of certain kinds of beer. We have reason to know," write Messrs. Graham and Hoffman, "although it is not stated by M. Payen, that these remarks of Pelletier refer to a period of ten or twelve years past; and further, although not informed of the amount

of the order, we have good authority to state that fifty or a hundred ounces would have been considered a large order for strychnine at that time. The calculation already given shows how utterly insignificant such a supply of strychnine would be for its imagined application in the pale ale breweries. It is likewise known that the manufacture of strychnine has not been on the increase in France of late years."

Having thus disposed of the primary statement respecting the use of strychnine in Bitter Beer, by showing it was never asserted as a certainty by any competent authority, speaking from actual knowledge, the Commissioners go on to consider how far "the employment of strychnine in the preparation of Bitter Beer is consistent with probability." They "find that one grain only of strychnine imparts a decided and persistent bitterness to at least 40,000 grains of water, or upwards of half a gallon; but the taste of the same quantity of strychnine is perceptible when diluted with 420,000 grains, or six gallons of water."

But as the free acetic acid contained in beer *would* convert strychnine into acetate of strychnia, a salt less bitter than strychnine itself, a larger amount would be required to impart the same degree of bitterness. "We have ascertained," say the Commissioners, "that not less than three grains of acetate of strychnia are needed to give a persistent and suitable bitterness to half a gallon of water; it is therefore evident that not less than one grain and a half of strychnine in combination with acetic acid would be required to impart such a degree of bitterness to the same quantity of beer as to render its use in the preparation of bitter beer a matter of any moment. Now, a quantity of strychnine so considerable as this could not be taken in beer consistently with safety, or even without danger to life. Were the quantity present in beer much below this, its use would still be attended with the greatest danger, since there is much reason to believe that this poison, like digitalis, colchicum, and certain other active vegetable products, is liable to be retained in the system, and to accumulate in it to such an extent as at length to give rise to the tetanic spasms, and other consequences symptomatic of poisoning by strychnine."

As a proof that beer purposely adulterated with strychnine might prove injurious, or even fatal to human life, the analytical sanitary Commissioners prepared the following experiment :—

“ One gallon of beer, to which a grain of strychnine had been purposely added, was evaporated to an extract; this was boiled for nearly an hour in a mixture of ether and alcohol; the solution, after filtration, was evaporated, and the residue, of a soft consistence, was administered as a pill to a small rabbit. In the course of two minutes the animal became affected with convulsive twitchings; these were almost immediately succeeded by a paroxysm of convulsions, in which the animal threw himself on his side, the head and neck being thrown back, the hind and fore legs extended and drawn backwards. The first paroxysm was rapidly followed by others, and in less than five minutes after the administration of the pill the rabbit was dead, it having exhibited the peculiar symptoms which characterize poisoning by strychnine.”

The analyses and tests for the presence of strychnine are, in this report, shown to be at once certain, ready, and efficient; and, that there could be no possibility of mistake, the Commissioners observe :—“ Before proceeding to analyze the samples, preliminary experiments were made with beer to which we had purposely added from half a grain to a grain of strychnine to the gallon of beer, and we found that we could invariably succeed in detecting, by the methods indicated, the presence of the poison in these minute quantities.” They then proceed to the examination of the stock of Messrs. Allsopp & Sons, and other bitter ale brewers, appending the following observations :—

“ The stores at Blackwall belonging to Messrs. Allsopp and Sons, and Messrs. Bass & Co., each comprise many thousand butts, hogsheads, and barrels of bitter beer, which, arranged in tiers, and piled one above the other, extend over a space of several acres. The whole of these stores were thrown open to us, and liberty given to tap as many and whichever casks we chose to select. In the case of the agents and bottlers the same liberty of choice was permitted, and in this manner butt after butt was opened and samples taken.

"It should be observed that the casks are all branded with the names of the brewers, and that in most cases a register is kept, not only at the breweries and stores, but also at the agents and bottlers, of the dates at which the different lots were brewed, all chance of mistake in the selection of the samples being thus obviated by reference to the marks and registries.

"Some of the ales were destined for exportation, others for the home trade; whilst the dates at which they were brewed extended over a period of nearly two years. NOT ANY SAMPLE OF BEER ANALYZED WAS BREWED *after* THE PROMULGATION OF THE STATEMENT CONCERNING THE EMPLOYMENT OF STRYCHNINE."

The Commissioners then report the results of the chemical and microscopical examination of FORTY SAMPLES of Bitter Beer, Pale Ale, or India Pale Ale, brewed by Messrs. Allsopp and Sons, and by Messrs. Bass & Co., and obtained under circumstances which precluded the possibility of error, fallacy, or of preparation for the selection.

The result in every case is recorded as follows:—

"*Analysis.*—The PRODUCTS of *malt* and *hops*, and the constituents of *pure* spring water, not *any other ingredient, either organic or inorganic.*

"In the course of our examination of the samples of beer, the results of the analyses of which are given as above, we have not confined ourselves to chemical methods of research, but have also employed the microscope when that powerful instrument was calculated to throw any light upon the subject; and, in the progress of our experiments, in addition to resorting to the aids furnished by chemistry and the microscope, we have appealed even to the evidence afforded by physiology and pathology."

In addition to this, a chemical analysis of the Burton well water is given, and an explanation of the cause of the superiority of the Burton well water afforded, by the fact "that the earthy salts, the carbonates and sulphates of lime and magnesia, which impart the quality of hardness to water, have disappeared, and that the Burton water, though hard at first, *really* becomes a soft water, as contained in the beer. But the

chemical constitution of the Burton water explains also another circumstance connected with Burton ales. It is known that these ales speedily become bright and clear, that they never require 'finings' to be employed, and are fit for use almost as soon as brewed. Now, the depurating power of lime is well known, insomuch that it has long been employed in the clarification of cane and other vegetable juices, and it is no doubt to the presence and precipitation of this substance that the action of the Burton water in rendering the beer transparent and bright is attributable." And further that, "in the course of boiling, the excess of carbonic acid in the water, by which the carbonates of lime and magnesia are dissolved, is expelled, and these salts are precipitated; again, the alkaline phosphates present in malt have the power of decomposing and precipitating sulphate of lime, phosphate of lime, and, a soluble alkaline sulphate being formed, the greater part of the phosphate of lime so formed is redissolved in the acid generated during fermentation. The water, from being at first hard, thus becomes comparatively soft, and in this state is well suited for the extraction of the active properties of the malt and hops used in the manufacture of bitter beer." The Commissioners proceed to give evidence of a highly important quality peculiar to Messrs. Allsopp & Sons' Pale Ales, viz. :—

"The above general analyses are important. They show—

"1st. That the Bitter Beers of Messrs. Allsopp & Sons, and of Messrs. Bass & Co., contain only a moderate amount of alcohol; and

"2nd. That they contain an unusually large quantity of bitter extract, consisting of the extract of hops."

The Commissioners finally came to the following conclusions :—"Under the above circumstances, and after the most scrutinizing examination, microscopical, chemical, and physiological, we have failed to detect the smallest atom of strychnine, or indeed of any other ingredients than the products of malt and hops, and the constituents of pure spring water," and add the weight of their authority as eminent chemists, pharmacutists, surgeons, and physicians, to the following recommendation of bitter beer :—

"From the pure and wholesome nature of the ingredients employed, the moderate proportion of alcohol present, and the very considerable quantity of aromatic anodine bitter, derived from hops, contained in these beers, they tend to preserve the tone and vigour of the stomach, and conduce to the restoration of the health of that organ when in a state of weakness or debility.

"These bitter beers differ from all other preparations of malt, in containing a smaller amount of extractive matter, thus being less viscid and saccharine, and consequently more easy of digestion: they resemble, indeed, from their lightness *a wine of malt*, rather than an ordinary fermented infusion; and it is very satisfactory to find that a beverage of such general consumption is entirely free from every kind of impurity.

"The admirers, therefore, of the Bitter Beer manufactured by the celebrated brewers we have mentioned may enjoy with advantage this, their favourite beverage. The report so commonly circulated, that it contained a deadly poison, was a severe reflection on the sagacity and judgment of the members of the medical profession; because it is perfectly well known that 'Bitter Beer or Pale Ale' first acquired, and afterwards maintained, its general celebrity in consequence of the universal recommendation of our profession—a recommendation which is now proved to have had the best possible foundation."—*Lancet*, May 15, 1852.

In addition to the results of these scientific investigations, we have, in the following document, the solemn declaration of the Burton brewers—among whom, upon this occasion, the firm of Allsopp & Sons was not omitted (see page 117)—given before the High Bailiff of the borough, and in the eye of the law, equivalent to an oath, that their ales were uncontaminated, and never had been, by the introduction of any deleterious matter; and that the sole ingredients employed in their manufacture are simply malt, hops, and water.

"BURTON PALE ALE, OR BITTER BEER.

"The Burton brewers have requested me to publish a solemn declaration, which they have made before me in my

official capacity, and which they have left in my keeping, in answer to a mischievous charge recently brought against them, to the effect that they use strychnine in the making of their celebrated Bitter Beer. That a charge so absurd should obtain a moment's credence appears surprising to persons on the spot, who know that, if ever a manufactured article was free from adulteration, it is this wholesome and grateful beverage. In fact, it is well known to every one practically acquainted with the process, and ought to be known to every chemist, not to mention learned 'M.D.'s,' that nothing *could* produce the article in perfection but the finest malt and hops and the purest water, combined with the most scrupulous cleanliness and great skill in the manufacture.

"The Burton brewers, in adopting this mode of defence, have been advised by counsel that it is the only legal course open to them, owing to the extreme vagueness of the charge. It would have been more agreeable to them collectively, or to any of them individually, to have met their calumniator in a court of law, where he would have had every facility for making good his charge, had it been capable of proof. As, however, the opportunity of doing so is denied them, they think it due to the public, as well as to themselves, to repel the calumny in the most solemn form the law allows them to employ.

"JOHN RICHARDSON,

"High Bailiff of the Borough of Burton-on-Trent."

"We, the several persons whose names are hereunto subscribed, being wholesale brewers at Burton-upon-Trent, in the county of Stafford, do, severally and respectively, solemnly and sincerely declare, that in the manufacture by us, or our respective firms, of bitter beer or other beer or ale, no article whatever is used or employed, directly or indirectly, other than malt, hops, and water; and that in our respective breweries no other article ever was used or employed, excepting that in the year 1847 some of us tried, by way of experiment (under an Act of Parliament passed in that year authorizing the same), a small quantity of sugar, but the use of which was very shortly abandoned. And we further say, that we never even heard or

suspected that the use of strychnine was imputed to any of the Burton brewers until such imputation recently appeared in some of the public newspapers. And we further solemnly and sincerely declare, that such imputation is absolutely and entirely false and groundless. And we make this solemn declaration, conscientiously believing the same to be true, and by virtue of the provisions of an Act of Parliament made and passed in the fourth and fifth years of the reign of King William IV., intituled 'An Act to repeal an Act of the present session of Parliament, intituled "An Act for the more effectual abolition of oaths and affirmations taken and made in various departments of the state, and to substitute declarations in lieu thereof, and for the more entire suppression of voluntary and extrajudicial oaths and affidavits, and to make other provisions for the abolition of unnecessary oaths."'

"Taken and subscribed at the Borough of Burton-upon-Trent, the fifteenth day of April, 1852, before me,

"JOHN RICHARDSON, High Bailiff of the said Borough."

The declaration of the Burton Brewers was signed by thirteen houses; and the effect of the "Report," which set the question at rest for ever, was still further enforced by an expression of opinion in regard to Pale Ales by the very highest authority, the acknowledged master of modern chemical science, Baron Liebig, who, so soon as the unfounded insinuation reached him, addressed a letter to Mr. Henry Allsopp, to which that gentleman lost no time in giving publicity, as expressly authorized by the learned Professor to do:—

"Remarks upon the Alleged use of Strychnine in the Manufacture of Pale Ale; by Baron Liebig; in a Letter addressed to Henry Allsopp, Esq., Burton-on-Trent."

"The unguarded remark of a French chemist, that the strychnine imported into England is employed in part as a substitute for hops in the manufacture of beer, has lately spread alarm among the lovers of pale ale. Having been appealed to by you, to express my opinion on this subject, which appears to me to be, in a dietetic point of view, one of con-

siderable public interest, I now offer the following brief statement.

"About a quarter of a century ago, a brewer in Westphalia fell into the practice of adulterating his beer with *nux vomica*, from which it is well known that strychnine is obtained. The peculiar morbid symptoms, however, which resulted from the consumption of this adulterated beer speedily led to the detection of the fraud. The effects produced by *nux vomica* and strychnine are so characteristic that every medical man will readily detect their origin. The French novelist, Alexander Dumas, has described them, though with more imagination than truth, in his romance of 'Monte Christo.' It is possible that the Westphalian case, which from being made the subject of a criminal trial obtained great notoriety, has given rise to the assumption that in England the strychnine imported is used for the purpose of mixing with beer. But nobody at all acquainted with the great breweries of that country could seriously entertain the suspicion of an adulteration of beer with strychnine or any other deleterious substance. It is practically impossible that any operation of a doubtful character could be carried out in these extensive establishments, on account of the large number of workmen employed in them. Any attempt on the part of the brewer to impart qualities to his beer in an illicit manner which are not to be obtained from malt or hops would necessarily lead to his ruin: as he would be obliged to communicate his secret to too many persons, and to employ too many accomplices. The draymen themselves, as good connoisseurs in beer, would protest against any manipulation of a suspicious character. The case has even occurred of an eminent brewer not venturing to make use of a method suggested to him, for the purpose of clearing his beer more effectually, because the addition of a new material to the wort might have induced a suspicion in the minds of his workmen that it was an illicit proceeding, and this would have endangered the good reputation which his beer enjoyed. He stated to me at the same time that no improvement could be introduced into a brewery the object of which was not perfectly evident to everybody.

"During a sojourn of several days at Burton-on-Trent I had an opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with the method pursued in the manufacture of Pale Ale. I convinced myself that the qualities of this excellent beverage depended mainly upon the care used in the selection of the best kinds of malt and hops, and upon the ingenuity exhibited in conducting the processes of mashing and fermenting. Our continental brewers have much to learn in these points to come up to the English brewers. I have no hesitation in saying that England possesses the greatest adepts in malting. I know positively that the chief brewers of Munich, who undoubtedly produce the best beer in Germany, have gone through an apprenticeship in Burton. This may account for the predilection entertained by the general public, as well as by medical men, for these varieties of beer; *for the instincts of humanity and experience appear to be as good guides in the choice of things that contribute to health and enjoyment as the profoundest philosophy.*

"Professors Graham and Hoffman, in the excellent report already addressed to you upon the alleged adulteration of the pale ale by strychnine, have indicated a very simple process for detecting the most minute quantity of strychnine contained in beer. I have satisfied myself of the great convenience and accuracy of their method; and have farther assured myself, by an analysis of several specimens of pale ale obtained from London houses, *supplied by your establishment*, of the utter groundlessness of the imputation that this beer was poisoned with strychnine. I am positive, and am supported in my views by the concordant analyses of all chemists who have occupied themselves with the examination of beer, that the poisoning of pale ale with strychnine has never occurred. I believe I may safely add, that it never will take place; for, although an ignorant brewer might be induced, from interested motives, to add *nux vomica* to his beer, the word strychnine so forcibly suggests one of the most virulent poisons, that whoever has heard anything about strychnine at all is sure to be aware of this. By adulterating his beer with strychnine, the brewer would be knowingly committing a crime which, in the present

state of science, must be followed by immediate detection and punishment.

"Mr. E. Merck, of Darmstadt, one of the most extensive strychnine manufacturers in Europe, informs me that this substance is peculiarly adapted to destroy vermin of all kinds. In many parts of Germany it is the popular poison for rats and mice. This fact fully accounts for the large amount of the drug that has lately been introduced into commerce.

"The specimens of your pale ale sent to me have afforded me another opportunity of confirming its valuable qualities. I am myself an admirer of this beverage; and my own experience enables me to recommend it, in accordance with the opinion of the most eminent English physicians, as a very agreeable and efficient tonic, and as a general beverage both for the invalid and robust.

"JUSTUS LIEBIG."

Thus, then, the question of the presence of strychnine in bitter beer was satisfactorily disposed of, and the calumny thrown upon the brewers of that important article of commerce triumphantly refuted. So far as regarded the character of the manufacturers of Burton ales, all had gone well; but the accusation had received the most extended publicity, and the people at large were strongly impressed with the idea that these ales were subjected to the most atrocious adulterations. It is easy to raise an outcry against any man, or any thing, but how difficult to allay it! How, then, could the impression be removed—and how the public confidence restored? By no other means than an extensive system of advertising, accompanied by the testimonials of the highest authorities in chemistry and medicine: the former proving the absence of all deleterious matter—the latter expressing their decided opinions not only of the deductions drawn by the chemists, but also of the beneficial effects likely to accrue by the use of these tonic ales by persons either suffering from certain forms of disease, or in a state of convalescence. By such means only could confidence be established; and of this, their only resource, Messrs. Allsopp rightly availed themselves.

So soon as the calumny was published, and the refutation completed, Messrs. Allsopp naturally applied to some of the most eminent members of the medical profession for their opinions of the quality and properties of their manufacture. These gentlemen at once complied with the request, and authorised the publication of their views. Others, seeing the injustice committed on the bitter beer brewers, voluntarily testified to their belief in the purity of the ales, their value in the treatment of disease and convalescence, and their salubrity to those in health. The testimonials thus obtained were advertised, and, of course, extensively circulated. Soon, however, a cry arose in the medical profession, commenced, we believe, by the *Edinburgh Monthly Journal of Medical Science*, and echoed by certain London journals, which insinuated that the gentlemen who had written testimonials had done so from unworthy and unprincipled motives; and alleged that they were given more for the purpose of advertising themselves than for vindicating the brewers, and of disabusing the public mind of error.

Thus, then, arose a new war—that of the advertisements. The dissatisfaction, however, upon this subject was not confined to the medical profession; it was shared by the brewing trade in general, and the Burton brewers in particular. Those who, from motives of jealousy, had in 1830 excluded the father from the primary declaration of the absence of all deleterious matters in the Burton ales (see page 117), and who subsequently refused to assist the son in his triumphant defence of the general manufacture—now that the labour was over, the victory achieved, and the public patronage recovered by the judicious system of advertising adopted by Messrs. Allsopp—now levelled at the firm calumnies as galling and injurious as those affecting the integrity of their manufacture. These men accused Mr. Allsopp of employing for his own exclusive advantage the testimonials he had collected; and at their instigation, it is believed, placards were pasted upon the walls, and ribald songs circulated, of a nature too scurrilous and obscene to deface our pages. Thus two accusations arose—the one against the profession for testifying in favour of Messrs. Allsopp's ales;

the other against Messrs. Allsopp for using the testimonials. The shafts of the accusers, however, were chiefly directed against the letter of Baron Liebig, the most celebrated chemist of the day, whose researches in organic chemistry, and chemistry applied to animal and vegetable physiology, have far surpassed those of any previous or present investigator of this branch of science; and whose original work on the chemistry of food has brought to light much important matter, hitherto unknown obscure. This letter, specially addressed to Mr. Allsopp, and which we have already inserted (page 160), not only repudiates the idea that any deleterious substance is introduced into the Burton ales, but further testifies to their value; and since the approval of so great an authority as Liebig was of the highest importance as a means of re-obtaining public confidence, and full permission having been accorded for its publication, the document, comprising in every respect the views and opinions of Messrs. Graham and Hoffman, was extensively circulated. Here, then, was the offence: Baron Liebig had especially addressed Mr. Allsopp, and the subject of his letter was Messrs. Allsopp's ales. Gross and vexatious attacks, avowedly emanating from rivals in the trade, were now made upon Mr. Allsopp, who, having vindicated the integrity of the Burton brewers generally, had voluntarily retired from the contest. But those who, "paralyzed in the time of danger, now saw no shame in underrating it when it had passed,"—instead of a generous expression of gratitude, heaped unmeasured abuse and discredit upon him who had saved the trade from present disrepute and future ruin. But let Mr. Allsopp speak for himself, and that in his own honest and straightforward words:—

"The battle," says he, "in fact, was won; and now came a wrangle for the spoils. One would have thought that the method adopted by me had been plain and straightforward enough; but, the danger once averted, the fault-finding spirit of a trivial, unworthy jealousy immediately arose. 'Why had I done this?' was asked. 'Why had I come forward?' 'Other parties had not done so.' The obscurity which had made them safe had now, it was said, by the publicity I had given, been

endangered; nay more, Baron Liebig had written a letter to me, and I had published it, and henceforth the names of Liebig and Allsopp would be connected together, so far as respected pale ales. Such were the ridiculous complaints that reached me; at first in an undecided form, and lastly embodied in a representation which brought to my knowledge, in a distinct shape, that the course adopted, in giving publicity to Baron Liebig's letter, had not been satisfactory to some of my Burton competitors. They urged that the use of this letter had been too exclusive; and they took exceptions to the method of its publication, as belonging of right to myself. On this being made known to me, I wrote to the Burton brewers a letter disclaiming any such intention as that suggested.

“Foremark Hall, August 10, 1852.

“Dear Sirs,—Having been informed that some exception has been taken by you, and others of my neighbours at Burton, to the mode of my publishing Baron Liebig's letter, and that it has been intended to convey the idea that I was desirous to appropriate and apply its general terms entirely to myself, I feel called upon to disavow any intention of this kind, and I therefore inclose for your perusal a notice, with which I intend to republish it. This, I hope, will satisfy the most sensitive that I have not the intention that has been attributed to me.

“I have also been informed that some dissatisfaction has existed as to the mode I have adopted in publishing the various testimonials of which I am possessed.

“I regret this circumstance, because I have endeavoured studiously to avoid all personal matters, or any invidious comparisons with others; at the same time I must observe, that while I hold myself perfectly justified in adopting any course which does not infringe upon the reputation or character of my neighbours, I am desirous to extend to others the same privilege which I exercise myself.

“I have repeatedly declared that if I have done anything to which any of my Burton friends could reasonably object, or which might be considered unfair, I am perfectly ready to *apologise* for, and withdraw any remarks having such a ten-

gency. But as I am of opinion that I have only adopted the same course which my neighbours, Messrs. Bass and Co., adopted some years ago (without similar justification), and which has also been followed by most others in our trade—although in a less degree—I am obliged to say that I regard the exception taken to my proceedings by Messrs. Bass and Co. as somewhat inconsistent, and not of that character which those who wish to do as they would be done by would pursue.—I am, Dear Sirs, yours faithfully,

“ ‘HENRY ALLSOPP.’

“I addressed this letter to all the brewers at Burton, except Messrs. Bass and Co., to whom I had previously expressed the same sentiments verbally, and by letter.

“I went even farther than this. Actuated by a desire of completely satisfying my neighbours, I republished Baron Liebig's letter to myself, without abridgment or omission as before, but with the addition of a public disclaimer of any intention to exclusively appropriate it, couched in the following terms:—

“ ‘Messrs. Allsopp and Sons are informed that some of their respected competitors conceive that they have made too exclusive use of Baron Liebig's letter to Mr. Allsopp, and they therefore feel themselves called upon to republish the letter, in order that the public may form a correct judgment of the intention of that eminent authority, which was, unquestionably, to induce general confidence in the genuine nature of the productions of all the leading brewing establishments of this country, as well as to convey a personally favourable opinion of the ale brewed by Messrs. Allsopp and Sons.’

“This, however, did not appear to satisfy the spirit of trade jealousy that had been awakened, and was studiously kept alive by mischievous insinuations. Forthwith there commenced a series of anonymous advertisements in the newspapers, impugning the value of Baron Liebig's letter, apparently on his own authority, and endeavouring to undervalue my motives in its publication, notwithstanding the disclaimer I had given. The ‘testimonials’ also, although emanating

from the most eminent medical men, were directly challenged. An attempt was even made to effect their repudiation by a circular addressed to the writers, open attacks against whom were made in such medical journals as could be prevailed upon to insert them, while covert insinuations were thrown out that the writers (men of the highest order of intellect and reputation) had been either cheated or bribed (forsooth!) into becoming accessories to a 'gigantic beer puff!'

"The lowest arts, the meanest appliances, were resorted to for the purpose of provocation and annoyance,—such persons, I presume, injudiciously supposing that they were serving their own turn by their attempts to lower me personally in the public estimation; until, at last, though I could peruse such attacks without anger, it became incumbent on me no longer to treat them with contempt. I came, therefore, again before the public solely to vindicate myself from a charge of perversion in regard to the testimonials and the letter of Baron Liebig, as well as to rescue the writers of those testimonials, and that eminent man himself, from the imputation of unworthy motives in doing the public a great service, and myself an inestimable kindness.

"In self-defence, I have defended both; and here again, the exculpation being complete—for the plain truth, once stated, cut like a sharp knife through all the web of chicanery and misrepresentation that had been cunningly woven around the subject—here, I say, the matter would have rested; but that the Baron Liebig, indignant at the shameless trick played upon him by the misappropriation of a private letter, and the making up of a whole sentence to my disparagement out of two several passages of two letters,—each of them bearing separately a contrary intention to that suggested by the whole when deceitfully combined,—addressed me a letter on the subject, utterly disclaiming any such meaning, and charging me to make publicly known his denial of any such intention, his resentment at its having been made, and his entire approval of the course I had adopted in the publication of his first letter to myself.

"The emphatic words of this great scientific authority on *this* occasion were as follows:—

“‘To my great astonishment and concern, my attention has lately been called to several anonymous articles and advertisements headed by my name, such as in the “Circular,” whose author altogether misrepresents the motives of my remarks, and even goes so far as to say ‘that I had never analyzed your beer, nor perhaps ever tasted it in my life,’ and to allege a retraction on my part of the original statement.

“‘I emphatically declare that I had not the slightest knowledge of these anonymous articles, the contents of which I entirely disapprove; and that in every respect I adhere to the statement made in my letter to you, which certainly you were and are at perfect liberty to publish.

“‘JUSTUS LIEBIG.

“‘Munich, September 12, 1852.’”

Men who could, for their own purposes, place the name of a high authority to that which he had not written, are undeserving of further consideration, and gladly do we here draw the veil over the transaction. Mr. Allsopp’s “brief statements,” from which the above is extracted,—and which has not been contradicted or disproved,—makes it quite clear that he, at any rate, was not actuated by selfish motives. In defending himself, he was defending the general character of bitter beer; for if the largest ale brewer was cleared from suspicion, the general feeling would be that the manufacture of others would be free from noxious drugs. Well would it have been for the Burton brewers if they had co-operated with Mr. Allsopp in the defence of their general manufacture—a defence which saved them, and himself, and many hundred families from ruin and dismay; and although these gentlemen may now view with jealousy the protector of their interests, and be envious of the high name he has acquired, the time is not far distant when they will see his conduct in its true light, and thankfully acknowledge their obligation and gratitude.

Let us now examine the charges that have been made against certain eminent members of the medical profession. They are said to have committed a breach of professional

etiquette, and that their testimonials were given, directly or indirectly, for selfish purposes,—either as the result of direct bribes, or with the object of bringing their names prominently before the public. In the *Medical Times* for October 30, 1852, a leading article is devoted to “the great bitter beer puff.” This journal, in the hands of its former editor, had, as the reader is aware, originally brought forward M. Payen’s accusation; but after the absence of all adulteration had been proved, at once acknowledged the error into which it had been led. Subsequently, however, the editorship fell into other hands, and the article to which we allude appeared, containing severe comments on the letters of Baron Liebig, and administering correction to the members of the profession who had testified to the value of bitter beer. It says:—

“We should not have wasted one moment’s time upon the quarrel respecting the relative merits of different brewers’ pale ale, but we have gone into this correspondence at some length, in order to show how adroitly the trading spirit can turn to account a great name, and, by this instance, to warn others against the chance of having theirs bespattered with the dirt in a similar manner. Messrs. Allsopp, not content with one victim, drag at their dray-wheels a score of physicians and chemists, who have thoughtlessly given them testimonials, and who are now doomed to see themselves day by day paraded before the world as pendants to a very unseemly controversy. The great bitter beer puff is, however, only a bloated likeness of hundreds of others, to the inflation of which medical men have thoughtlessly lent their aid. It is positively painful for any high-minded member of the profession to skim over the advertisement sheet of the *Times*, and see how his brethren demean themselves and their art, by testifying, right and left, to anything that is brought under their notice, from British brandy down to digestive bread and pulmonic wafers.”

The editor, in his reprehension of the physicians and surgeons who gave their testimony to the utility of bitter beer, accuses them not of any nefarious motives, but simply of thoughtlessness and inadvertency. It would have been the height of assumption, had he carried his strictures to any

further length, when we find appended to the testimonials the names of many of the highest ornaments of the profession—men of large practice, of independent fortunes, and untarnished character. There is, moreover, a great distinction to be drawn between testimonials given in defence of an important article of diet, unjustly assailed, and constantly recommended by physicians to their patients, and a quack medicine or an ingenious piece of mechanism. The members of the medical profession must be within their proper bounds when they give their candid opinions respecting articles of diet or regimen. In these, and all sanatory matters, it is to them that the public look for guidance and direction; and it is upon their judgment, and upon their recommendation, that they reject or adopt that which may be proposed. It matters little what use may afterwards be made of testimonials, so far as those who testify are concerned; and if the conclusions at which they have arrived are just, it is most important that they should be freely made known to the general community. In the present case a pleasant and salubrious article of diet was unjustly assailed; and it surely cannot be considered that the physicians and other scientific men, who lent their aid to destroy a mischievous delusion, have done so unworthily, and in a spirit derogatory to themselves and to their profession. But the wrong done to Messrs. Allsopp did not terminate with the editor's remarks; and Mr. Allsopp endeavoured to justify the conduct of those who had so properly testified to the purity of his manufacture. He addressed the following letter to the Journal, to whose pages it was refused admission. To deny the means of reply to an editorial attack does not argue a great amount of liberality or proper feeling on the part of the then conductors of the *Medical Times*; while it evidences a weakness in their argument which they have not the generosity to acknowledge. The length of the letter, and the "crowded state of their columns" were no fitting excuses on the part of the conductors for its non-insertion. Having made the attack, it was their duty to "take the buff with the buffet," and to admit the reply.

"MR. ALLSGOP AND BARON LIEBIG.

"To the Editor of the Medical Times and Gazette.

"Sir,—The natural sensitiveness you feel in regard to professional reputation—injured, as you considered, by the too free giving of testimonials by medical men—has led you, in the heat of illustration, to what might on a first impression appear an attack on the course I have pursued—from the first, under your own guidance—in regard to the question of adulteration of pale and bitter ales by strychnine, as originally mooted to the British public in your columns.

"When the storm has passed over, it is not unusual to underrate the dangers we have escaped; but I, who was lashed to the wheel, and steadied the vessel through the perils of the storm, may not forget that the very existence of our trade depended, at that time, upon a bold and resolute course of action, or that the hesitation of a day might have led to an utter prostration of our trade, whose growth, even in a quarter of a century, had been gigantic. You were pleased, at the time, to applaud my efforts, and congratulate me on their result. I regret that the 'unworthy jealousy' you mention, which as usual, when the danger has passed, attacks me for becoming the prominent champion of a cause from which too many stood aloof, has found an echo in your columns. I perceive that I am accused, in your article of last week, of intentionally courting that extraneous and unnecessary publicity which has been forced upon me by successive attacks, each based upon the other, and the reply I gave to it.

"I may be permitted, perhaps, to point out an error in that article, which, slight as it may appear, invalidates the whole argument. The letter quoted, of Baron Liebig (July 24, 1852), does not, as you suppose, apply to the passage extracted (May 6, 1852), but is an explanation of another part of the same letter, utterly distinct, and was intended as a further and clearer elucidation of its meaning, sent over by Baron Liebig, on the faith of a misrepresentation forwarded him, that such a meaning had been perverted in the English publication of the

original document. When such was found not to be the case, the indignation of the Baron, at having been deceived into writing the letter of July 24, was warmly expressed in the passages you quote from his letter of September 15, 1852.

"There is, then, no discrepancy, no mistake, or mystification, or incongruity, in Baron Liebig's several letters. He was simply the victim of false representations, emanating from those in whom, from former acquaintance, he placed faith. Having been deceived by them into what he found to be a false step, he hastened, like an honest and honourable man, to correct his error. There lies the simple truth.

"In the latter part of your article you mention 'the incautious gift of a testimonial.' Are you, sir, cognizant that such a 'gift' *was* 'incautious,' on the part of Baron Liebig? I, on the contrary, am prepared to assert, from my own knowledge, that such testimonial was expressly given for the purposes for which it has been used; that it was written not incautiously, but after grave deliberation; that it was carefully noted down, after due analysis of specimens of my ales, sent to Baron Liebig for that object by Messrs. Graham and Hoffmann; and that it was addressed to me, and to me exclusively, and was by me published with the full knowledge and direct authorisation of the learned writer.

"That Baron Liebig has been 'placed,' as you say, 'in an undignified position,' and 'bespattered with dirt'—if such be the case, has been occasioned by the pseudo friends of that eminent man, who, not content with alarming him by misrepresentations, have not hesitated to falsify his meaning; and who, by ingeniously dovetailing passages of two letters, written at two different times, into one extract, as if all written at the same time, have contrived so to pervert the intention of this distinguished writer, as to make him say and do things exactly contrary to his real meaning and intention.

"If you would have this matter more clearly brought out, and would rescue from unmerited obloquy the reputation of a scientific man, at once so amiable and so excellent, you have it in your power to do so, by calling on Messrs. Bass and Co., to

publish the letters they have received from Baron Liebig—letters already circulated by them amongst the Burton brewers—letters which the kind feeling of Baron Liebig, and his anxiety to prevent further exacerbation amongst neighbours, has tied up my hands from using.

“You are pleased to observe that ‘Messrs. Allsopp, not content with one victim’ (meaning the Baron Liebig, I presume—a willing victim surely, whose last communication to me, so late as September 15, repeats the permission to publish his letter, and approves of my use of it), ‘drag at their dray-wheels a score of physicians and chemists who have thoughtlessly given them testimonials, and who are now doomed to see themselves, day by day, paraded before the world as pendants to an unseemly controversy.’

“I, sir, know of no controversy such as you more than once allude to. The merits of our Ales, as compared with those of other brewers, have never yet, to my knowledge, been brought into question. I know of no assertion on the part of Messrs. Bass, on any occasion, that their ales are superior to ours, or *vice versa*. There have been doubts insinuated of Baron Liebig’s meaning;—questions as to the intention and value of Dr. Glover’s incidental testimonials, largely advertised and liberally distributed by some generous individuals; disinterestedly interested in rightly informing the public;—but not a word in disparagement of our ales has been ventured; nor any pretence of their inferiority; nor any attempt even at comparison of our ales with any other. That question has never been raised, and I am not going to raise it. I shall confine myself to the point of Testimonials.

“You, sir, cannot be aware, as I am (and deeply grateful do I feel on that account), of the hearty, spontaneous, ready, cheerful manner in which the medical profession came to our aid in the moment of peril—for such it really was—to our own and every other firm engaged in the brewing of pale ales. You may, inadvertently, designate these evidences of kindly feeling as ‘thoughtless testimonials;’ but I know many of them to have emanated from a friendship of nearly a quarter of a century;—others from a grateful recognition of benefits derived

from the use of pale ale as a beverage—a grateful recollection as much and as meritoriously due to my father, Mr. Samuel Allsopp, as to any eminent gentleman of your own profession, who might have first discovered one of the most valuable recipes of your pharmacopœia. It is the glory of science not to be selfish. It is the point of honour in your profession to have no secrets—no nostrums. So was it with my father. Let him have equal honour. His invention of Burton bitter ale was a discovery, the result of matured thought, great skill, large practical experience, and numerous experiments. He took out no patent, but left it open to all. Our only present advantage is our preservation of the traditionary skill and experience of the first inventor. This is all of which we boast; all we lay claim to. Your medical friends will assure you (and I can tell you they have been asked this question, not without *malice prepense* on the part of those who instigated it), that they have not been displeased with, or disinclined to, the use we have made of their Testimonials. We have received no remonstrance, and but one complaint—that of Dr. Glover—a mutual explanation of which proved mutually satisfactory.

“You have yourself, in your journal of June 5, been kind enough to express your great satisfaction at what you were pleased to term ‘the open and honest course adopted by’ myself. You say that I ‘made the inquiry as strict and as searching as possible, and succeeded triumphantly in justifying myself and the important trade of which I am one of the principal members.’ Let me hope that no subsequent act of mine has tended to change or invalidate an opinion so valuable. Let me trust that, on consideration, you will not call me unjustly to account, as unduly courting that publicity which wilful misrepresentation, if not jealous perversion of facts, has successively forced upon me—every act of self-defence having been made to act against me, by some direct obliquity of meaning, as an object for fresh attack, calling upon me, in its turn, for a fresh defence.

“Relying, sir, upon your sense of justice for the insertion of this letter, I have the honour to be, sir, your very obedient servant,

HENRY ALLSOPP.”

“Burton-upon-Trent, Nov. 4, 1852.”

It was reserved for the *Medical Circular* to apply the epithet "degrading," and to attach by implication unworthy motives to the eminent men who recorded their opinions of the purity and utility of Burton ale. Not content with denouncing Mr. Allsopp's conduct with the greatest acrimony, this journal further ventured, in its number for October 20, 1852, to say :—

"We beg, however, to assure Mr. Allsopp that these artifices will not suffice to screen him from the censure of the medical press of this country. The unjustifiable manner in which he has sought to gain an exclusive personal advantage from expressions of opinion never intended to characterise his ale in particular, and which in the majority of instances were doubtless due to the ales of other brewers, has not only injured his own claims for candid straightforward dealing, but has also prejudiced the character of many otherwise respectable members of our profession. This is conduct we cannot forgive, and which we shall not permit to be glossed over by any stratagems he may choose to adopt. We observe that the testimonials of several consulting physicians and surgeons of the metropolis continue to be published by Mr. Allsopp; and we again call upon those gentlemen to disassociate themselves from the degrading connection. If they do not respond to our just demand, we may think proper to inquire into the several instances in which those gentlemen have been respectively gaily of puffing themselves into notoriety in a similar manner; and we think that there are very few of them who could come out without loss of credit from such an examination."

Let us ask our friend, the editor of the *Medical Circular*, who ultimately, we feel convinced will see the error into which his zeal has led him, whether, in his opinion, such men as Sir C. M. Clarke, Dr. Watson, Dr. Budd, Dr. Marshall Hall, Mr. Travers, Mr. Fergusson, really need such a mode of advertising, when it ought to be within his cognisance that their names are "familiar as household words" throughout the entire kingdom, and that some of them enjoy an European reputation. Of the other names many are well known in the provinces; and we are unable to understand how the publica-

tion of their testimonials could answer any personal end, or prove individually beneficial to them in any sense. But surely we have said enough to satisfy the reader of the purity of the intentions of the testimonials, and to evidence that the aspersions cast upon them by the *Medical Times* and the *Medical Circular*, are unjust and without foundation.

As regards the question, whether, if the physicians were right in granting their testimonials, was Mr. Allsopp warranted in the use he made of them, we unhesitatingly reply in the affirmative, if the system of advertising be at all justifiable; and we think that no one in the present day, not even the editor of the *Medical Circular*, would question the right of advertising, since he himself extensively employs it to diffuse a knowledge of the existence and the superior merit of his own work. Although by conventional rules it is not permitted for those who have entered the church, the bar, the medical, or military professions, to advertise their own personal qualifications in a direct and open manner, yet an indirect system of advertising does, to a greater or less extent, obtain among them. Thus a professional man writes a book, and he is only then permitted to advertise himself, both in the journals devoted to his own special calling, and in the daily and weekly political papers; and it is for this purpose alone that many medical works are published. But the tradesman or merchant is bound by no such conventional regulations; he has something to sell, and he at once takes the best means of disposing of his wares, by telling the world, through the medium of the newspapers, handbills, and the post-office, that he is ready and willing to supply the article in which he deals, and at a certain price. To all in the same trade or manufacture the same means are open; and it is ridiculous to suppose that any one tradesman would expend his time and his money in advertising the goods of another to the injury of his own interest. But there is one rule that even the tradesman is bound to obey. In advertising the articles in which he deals, he must not detract from those of others by an improper assumption of the superiority of his own. It is upon these principles that Mr. Allsopp has, in every respect, acted; and his competitors have no right to complain

that he laid out a considerable sum of money, first, in defending his house from an unjust aspersion ; and, secondly, in making known to the world that the charge had been disproved ; and that more especially, since in doing so he contributed to the welfare not of himself only but to that of his competitors in trade. In justifying himself, he justified them ; in advertising the purity of his own, he proclaimed that of the Burton ales in general ; and in proving the absence of adulteration in the one case, he demonstrated its impossibility in others. Had Mr. Allsopp pursued an opposite course ; had he, instead of simply advertising the good qualities of his own manufacture, and the testimonials in its favour which he possessed ; had he, we say, attempted to depreciate that of his competitors, he would most undoubtedly have exposed himself to the just condemnation of all honourable men. But he has done no man wrong ; nor was he singular in his mode of calling public attention to the vindication of bitter beers and Burton brewers from the charges made against them.

But we have said our say ; and having completed a task, which, as stated in our preface, we commenced as a duty and continued as a source of personal pleasure and gratification, we will allow Mr. Allsopp himself to conclude our work.

In concluding his "brief statement" he says :—"I do not too greatly complain, because I am not so much surprised at the attacks thus directed against me. Like all who defend a general interest, I pay the penalty for coming forward first and foremost to do so, of laying myself open to comment on both sides. Yet from the position our house has occupied for a century, and that which I feel myself entitled to hold in the Burton trade, I thought it incumbent in me to meet any charge against it prominently, and without reserve, though liable, therefore, to more remark on that account.

"The public have pronounced, as the trade knows by satisfactory experience, that I have performed my task thoroughly. I now hope they will be convinced that, in doing so, I have not, from motives of mere self-aggrandisement, taken advantage of my position to depreciate my brother brewers ; but that, *whenever* I have gone beyond the limits which I had first

intended, I have rather been compelled, step by step, to advance upon my original purpose, and been forced to follow out that publicity by the very parties themselves who make of it an offensive charge against me.

“One point yet remains, which time alone can determine, but to which I confidently appeal. This is, whether the entire trade of Burton will not be materially benefited by the course which I have adopted. It is already happily rescued from the imputation cast upon it. Every establishment in the town is fully employed. Indeed I believe that such an impetus has been given to the trade, that not only ourselves are benefited largely, but that such benefit naturally extends to the whole of our business connection, for whose interest, as well as our own, my own services shall never be found wanting when required.”









